

# Rural Sociology

VOLUME 26      SEPTEMBER 1961      NUMBER 3

---

Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change  
*Talcott Parsons*

Social Structure and Participation in an Australian  
Rural Community.....*J. Gilbert Hardee*

Interest Group Relations and Functions in Rural Society  
*David E. Lindstrom*

Social Classes in an Italian Farm Village.....*Joseph Lopreato*

Correlates of Marital Satisfaction for Rural Married Couples  
*Lee G. Burchinal*

Factors Affecting Farm Family Security  
*Cleo Fitzsimmons and Sarah L. Manning*

Research Notes • Book Reviews

Bulletin Reviews • News Notes

---

Official journal of the Rural Sociological Society

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

*Published Quarterly*

## BOARD OF EDITORS

- J. Allan Beegle, *Editor*.....Michigan State University  
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN
- William H. Sewell, *Associate Editor*.....University of Wisconsin  
MADISON, WISCONSIN
- Neal Gross, *Associate Editor*.....Harvard University  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
- Charles P. Loomis, *Associate Editor*.....Michigan State University  
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN
- Samuel W. Blizzard, *Associate Editor*..Princeton Theological Seminary  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
- Irwin T. Sanders, *Associate Editor*.....Boston University  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
- Bert L. Ellenbogen, *Managing Editor*.....Cornell University  
ITHACA, NEW YORK
- John Harp, *Associate Managing Editor*.....Cornell University  
ITHACA, NEW YORK

## DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS

- Book Reviews:* Walter C. McKain, Jr.....University of Connecticut  
STORRS, CONNECTICUT
- Bulletin Reviews:* Louis J. Ducoff  
Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA  
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
- News Notes and Announcements:* Marion T. Loftin  
Mississippi State University  
STATE COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

RURAL SOCIOLOGY is published by the Rural Sociological Society. The office of publication is located in the Department of Rural Sociology, New York State College of Agriculture, a unit of the State University of New York at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Months of publication are March, June, September, and December.

Members of the Rural Sociological Society are entitled to receive RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Dues for active members are \$7.50 per year, of which \$6.00 is for a year's subscription to the journal. Dues for student members and emeritus members are \$4.00 a year, \$3.75 of which is for the subscription. Applications for membership and payment of dues should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer, James H. Copp, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

The subscription rate for nonmembers, libraries, and others is \$7.00 a year, \$2.00 a copy, in the United States and Canada; \$7.50 a year and \$2.15 a copy in all other countries, postage paid. Subscriptions should be sent to Managing Editor, 341 Warren Hall, Ithaca, New York. Four weeks' advance notice to the Managing Editor and the old address as well as the new are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

Manuscripts and business correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Books for review, bulletins for review, and news notes and announcements should be sent directly to the appropriate departmental editor, as indicated above.

Second-class postage paid at Ithaca, New York, and at additional mailing offices.

PRINTED BY THE W. F. HUMPHREY PRESS INC.

Copyright ©, 1961, by the Rural Sociological Society

# Rural Sociology

VOLUME 26

SEPTEMBER 1961

NUMBER 3

## CONTENTS

- Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change  
*Talcott Parsons* 219
- Social Structure and Participation in an Australian Rural  
Community ..... *J. Gilbert Hardee* 240
- Interest Group Relations and Functions in Rural Society  
*David E. Lindstrom* 252
- Social Classes in an Italian Farm Village ..... *Joseph Lopreato* 266
- Correlates of Marital Satisfaction for Rural Married Couples  
*Lee G. Burchinal* 282
- Factors Affecting Farm Family Security  
*Cleo Fitzsimmons and Sarah L. Manning* 290
- Research Notes
- A Research Note on Data Collection  
*Marion T. Loftin and J. H. Bruening* 298
- Rural-Reared Workers and Labor Turnover .... *Harrison M. Trice* 299
- Book Reviews ..... *Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.*
- Geertz: *The Religion of Java* ..... *Henry Shissler* 305
- Greene: *Ferment on the Fringe* ..... *John Photiadis* 306
- Jonassen and Sherwood: *Interrelationships of Dimensions of  
Community Systems* ..... *Emmit F. Sharp* 306
- Knapp: *Seeds That Grew* ..... *Carl C. Taylor* 307
- Leslie: *Now We Are Civilized* ..... *Oscar Lewis* 309
- Moore and Feldman, eds.: *Labor Commitment and Social Change  
in Developing Areas* ..... *Robert T. McMillan* 310
- Nanavati and Anjaria: *The Indian Rural Problem* *Carl C. Taylor* 310
- Parmelee: *The History of Modern Culture* ..... *Carl C. Taylor* 311
- Wish: *The American Historian* ..... *Reed H. Bradford* 312

Books Received .....	313
Bulletin Reviews .....	<i>Edited by Louis J. Ducoff</i>
Andrews, Bauder, and Rogers: <i>Benchmarks for Rural Industrialization: A Study of Rural Development in Monroe County, Ohio</i>	C. L. Folse 315
Cowhig, Artis, Beegle, and Goldsmith: <i>Orientations toward Occupations and Residence</i> ; Nelson: <i>Attitudes of Youth</i>	Harry K. Schwarzweller 316
Metzler and Sargent: <i>Migratory Farmworkers in the Midcontinent Streams</i> .....	George R. Dawson 316
Olson: <i>Job Mobility and Migration in a High Income Rural Community</i> .....	Emmit F. Sharp 318
Rahim: <i>Diffusion and Adoption of Agricultural Practices: A Study in a Village in East Pakistan</i> .....	E. A. Wilkening 318
Other Publications Received .....	319
News Notes .....	<i>Edited by Marion T. Loftin</i> 322
Lawrence Milton Hepple (1910-1960) .....	H. Ellis Plyler 323

Reprints of back issues of RURAL SOCIOLOGY may be obtained as follows: Volumes 1 through 20 from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York.

Volumes 21 through the present issue from the Managing Editor, 341 Warren Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, at \$10.00 per volume, \$2.50 per copy in the United States and Canada; \$10.60 per volume, \$2.65 per copy in all other countries.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in *Agricultural Index*, *Bibliography of Agriculture*, and the bulletin of the *Public Affairs Information Service*. Selected abstracts are carried regularly in *Sociological Abstracts*, *Psychological Abstracts*, *Current Sociology*, and other publications. RURAL SOCIOLOGY is available on microfilm, to regular subscribers, from University Microfilms, 313 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.



TALCOTT PARSONS

## Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change

Theoretical analysis of change should distinguish between processes which maintain the equilibrium of a system and structural changes wherein a system moves from one state of equilibrium to another. Structural change occurs when disturbances in or around a system are sufficient to overcome the forces of equilibrium. For social systems one source of disturbance is alteration in the relation of the system to its environment which produces deficits in the input of goal attainment to acting units. When such units are performing multiple functions there is pressure toward structural differentiation, an important category of structural change. Differentiation can not occur, however, unless concomitant processes of social reorganization provide facilities for performance of the functions in the new differentiated context and patterns of normative legitimation and support. Successful differentiation involves normative reorganization at four levels: (1) the provision of *opportunity* through the emancipation of facilities from ascriptive ties; (2) *inclusion* of differentiated units in higher level collectivity structures; (3) *upgrading* of norms to higher levels of generality; (4) *extension* of values to legitimize new functional units. The processes and conditions of differentiation are illustrated by analysis of a case important to rural sociology, the separation of household and producing unit.

The author is professor of sociology at Harvard University.\*

BOTH Professor Wileden and Professor Loomis have suggested that I should address myself to the problem of social change. I am very happy to do this, both because of the intrinsic importance of the subject and because its place in my own work has been the subject of considerable concern, indeed controversy. Furthermore, I have been devoting more explicit attention to this field recently than before, and some of the things I have to say are, I think, new.

The subject in general is far too vast for discussion in a brief paper, unless one confined himself to the highest level of generality. I should

\*This paper was presented to the North Central States' Rural Sociology Committee, Chicago, Illinois, November 3, 1960.

like, therefore, to concentrate my attention on one major type of change in social systems, that which is most closely analogous to the process of growth in the organism. This usually involves an element of quantitative increase in the "magnitude" of the system, in the social case, e.g., through increase in population, but it also involves what in an important sense is qualitative or "structural" change. The type of the latter on which I should like to concentrate is the process of structural differentiation and the concomitant development of patterns and mechanisms which integrate the differentiated parts. This, of course, is a classic sociological as well as biological problem, in the sociological case being central to Spencer's thought, but in its more modern phase above all associated with Durkheim.

Let me start with a few preliminary points. There are certain irreducible distinctions which must be made for the ordering of empirical knowledge; for epistemological purposes perhaps the most fundamental is that between knowing subject and object known. If there is nothing which pertains to the latter which is not simply an "expression" of properties of the former, the concept of "objectivity" becomes meaningless. To me there are two other dichotomies which are in the same class of indispensability, namely that between structure and process and that between stability and change. They are, however, analytically distinct, and we should be careful not to confuse them. They are both in an important sense relative, but in a sense in which relativity does not erase an analytical distinction; thus the relativity of a physical observation to the position of the observer does not, as has sometimes been held, imply that the distinction between observer and object observed has become meaningless.

Underlying both these dichotomies is, to my mind, the way of conceiving empirical phenomena which we call the idea of system; this is the presumption that there are relations of interdependence between the more detailed phenomena which are subject to intelligible analysis; the antithesis is the conception of randomness of relative variability, so that knowing the pattern of variation of one subphenomenon gives no clue whatever, even in the form of imposing some limitation, to the variability of any other.

One of the most fundamental canons of scientific method is that it is impossible to study everything at once. Since the basis of generalization in science is always the demonstration of relatedness in processes of variation (in one sense change), there must always somewhere be a distinction between the features of the phenomena under observation which do and which do not change under the relevant limitations of time and scope, and in the respects which are defined as important for the purposes in hand. The specificities of significant change could not even be identified if there were no *relative* background of nonchange to relate them to.

To me the concept of structure is simply a shorthand statement of this basic point. The structure of a system is that set of properties of its component parts and their relations or combinations which, for a particular set of analytical purposes, can both logically and empirically be treated as constant within definable limits. If, however, there is built up strong empirical evidence that treating such elements as constant for particular types of systems is helpful in understanding the patterning of variation of other elements, then this structure is not simply an arbitrary methodological assumption, but propositions about it and its limits of empirical stability become empirical generalizations which are just as important as are "dynamic" generalizations.

There are cases where structures are described in terms of problem statements involving no interest in what happens. These, however, are limiting cases of scientific analysis, though they are sometimes important ones, as witness the case of a map which simply delineates the relative locations of different topographical features of a terrain without any propositions about processes which might change them. But usually descriptions of structure constitute the primary reference-base for describing and analyzing processes. The classic concept of process is the motion of classical mechanics—but you cannot talk about motion without any categorization of the particle as "that which" moves, nor of space as a manifold of locations from which and to which a process of motion occurs.

Any ordinary system, therefore, is capable of description as on the one hand a structure, a set of units or components with, for the purposes in hand, stable properties, which of course may be relational, and on the other hand of events, of processes, in the course of which "something happens" to change some properties and some relations among them.

The concept of stability has obviously been used here as a defining characteristic of structure. The sense of the former term which must be distinguished from structure is that in which it is used to characterize a system as a whole, or some subsystem of such a system. In this present sense it is equivalent to the more specific concept of stable equilibrium—which in another reference may be either "static" or "moving". A system then is stable or (relatively) in equilibrium when the relation between its structure and the processes which go on within it, and between it and its environment, are such as to maintain those properties and relations, which for the purposes in hand have been called its structure, relatively unchanged. Very generally, always in "dynamic" systems, this maintenance is dependent on continuously varying processes, which "neutralize" either endogenous or exogenous sources of variability which, if they went far enough, would change the structure. A classic example of equilibrium in this sense is the maintenance of nearly constant body temperature by mammals and birds—in the

face of continuing variation in environmental temperature and through mechanisms which operate either to produce heat, including slowing up its loss, or to slow down the rate of heat production or accelerate its dissipation.

Contrasted then with stability or equilibrating processes are those processes which operate to bring about structural change. That such processes exist and that they are of fundamental scientific importance is nowhere in question. Thus even in physics, whereas the mass of the atom of a particular element has been the prototype of the stable structural reference point, the discoveries of modern nuclear physics have now evolved a theory of change by which, through nuclear fission and/or fusion, the structures of "atomic identity" are transformed into others. The reason for insistence on the importance of keeping the concepts of structure and process and of stability and change analytically distinct is not a predilection in favor of one or the other item in each pair, but in favor of orderly procedure in scientific analysis.

As I see it now, the distinction between the two pairs of concepts is one of level of system reference. The structure of a system and of its environment must be distinguished from process *within* the system and in *interchange* between the system and its environment. But processes which maintain the stability of a system, internally through both structure and process, and in interchange with its environment, i.e., states of its equilibrium, must be distinguished from processes by which this balance between structure and more "elementary" process is altered in such a way as to lead to a new and different "state" of the system, a state which must be described in terms of an alteration of its previous structure. To be sure the distinction is relative, but it is an essential and an ordered relativity. What I have been saying is that *at least two* systematically related perspectives on the problem of constancy of variation are essential to any sophisticated level of theoretical analysis.<sup>1</sup>

These considerations constitute the major framework in which I should like to approach the analysis of change in social systems. I should like to attempt to discuss one type of change in the sense in which it has just been contrasted with stability, and therefore will presuppose that there is a system or set of systems to which the concept of equilibrium is relevant, but which are conceived as undergoing processes of change which as such are processes of upsetting the initial equilibrium state and later "settling down" into a new equilibrium state. I am, however, as noted above, treating this problem not for the highest-level

<sup>1</sup>The logic of this situation is, I think, identical with that of the biological theory according to which it is necessary to deal with the two dichotomies of *heredity* and environment and *organism* and environment. They cannot be "reduced" to one another, but neither can they be treated as unrelated to each other.

equilibrium of societies as a whole, but for processes of change in subsystems of the society.

# I

Let us start with the question of the structure of social systems and introduce both a formal and a substantive consideration. The formal one is that the structure of any empirical system may be treated as consisting in (1) *units*, such as the particle or the cell, and (2) *patterned relations* among units, such as relative distances, "organization" into tissues and organs. For social systems the minimum unit is the *role* of the participating individual actor (or status-role, if you will), and the minimum relation is that of patterned reciprocal interactions in terms of which each participant functions as an actor in relation to (orienting to) the others and, conversely, each is object for all the others. Higher-order units of social systems are collectivities, i.e., organized action systems of the role performance of pluralities of human individuals. Perhaps it is well to speak of units on either level as units of *orientation* when they are treated as actors, as units of *modality* when they are treated as objects.<sup>2</sup>

In social structure the element of "patterned relation" is clearly in part "normative." This is to say that from the point of view of the unit it includes a set of "expectations" as to his or its behavior on the axis of what is or is not proper, appropriate, or right. From the point of view of other units with which the unit of reference is in interaction, this is a set of standards according to which positive or negative sanctions can be legitimated. Corresponding to the distinction between role and collectivity for the case of units is that between norm and value for that of relational pattern. A value is a normative pattern which defines desirable behavior for a system in relation to its environment, without differentiation in terms of the functions of units or of their particular situations. A norm on the other hand is a pattern defining desirable behavior for a unit or class of units in respects specific to it and differentiated from the obligations of other classes.

The proposition that the relational patterns of social systems are normative, which is to say that they consist in institutionalized normative culture, can, in fact, be extended to the structure of units as well. One way of making this clear is to point out that what at one level of reference is a unit at another is a system. What we are calling the structural properties of the unit, therefore, are at the next level the relational patterns which order the relations between what in turn are the subunits making it up. Therefore, it is justified to assert, in the wider perspective, that the structure of social systems in general *consists*

<sup>2</sup>This is the terminology used in "Pattern Variables Revisited," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (1960), 467-483.

in institutionalized patterns of normative culture. It is of course further essential that these must be understood as applying at the two distinct levels of organization which we call that of units and relational pattern among units.

To return now to the paradigm of the stable system discussed above, process in a system must be conceived as a process of interchanging inputs and outputs between units (subsystems) of the system on the one hand, and between the system, through the agency of its units, and its environment on the other. There is thus a "flow" of such inputs and outputs as between all pairs of classes of units, whether the relation be internal or external. What I am calling the normative pattern governing the relationship is then to be conceived as regulating this flow. For stable interchange to go on there must on the one hand be flexibility for inputs and outputs to move, but there must also be ways of "channeling" this process to keep its variability within limits.

A prototypical case is the flow of transactions involving the exchange of things of "value," namely goods and services and money, which constitute a market process. The normative patterns on the other hand are the institutional patterns defining money itself, the norms of contract and of the aspects of property other than money, conceived as Durkheim did in the famous phrase about the noncontractual elements of contract. The equilibrium of a market system is dependent on the maintenance of limits, relative to a set of definable conditions, to the fluctuation in the rates of these flows. The stability of the *structure* of the market system in the present sense is on the other hand a matter of the stability of the normative pattern system, the institutions.

What, then, do we mean by the stability of an institutional complex? First, of course, is meant the stability of the normative pattern itself. The single term norm, especially if it is equated with "rule," is probably too narrow because it seems to imply a level of simplicity which permits description in a single proposition; this would patently not be true of the institutions of property or contract. Secondly, stability implies a minimum level of commitment of acting units, i.e., of dispositions to perform in accordance with the relevant expectations—rather than to evade or violate them—and to apply the relevant sanctions, positive or negative, to other units in response to performance, evasion, or violation. Third, institutionalization implies acceptance of an empirical and mutually understood "definition of the situation" in a sense of understanding of what the system of reference *is*; <sup>3</sup> this can for example be ideologically distorted so as to make functioning impossible.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>This definition is normative to acting units but existential to observers. Here the actor is placed in the role of an observer of his own situation of action, i.e., is treated as potentially "rational."

<sup>4</sup>Thus it seems plausible to suggest that perhaps the most serious source of conflict in the UN at present lies in the ideological difference between the Western and the



Finally, institutionalization means some order of integration of the normative complex in question in the more general one governing the system as a whole, at the normative level itself. Thus the doctrine of "separate but equal" proved to be dubiously integrated with the rest of the American system of constitutional rights formulated on the basis of the constitutional right to "equal protection of the laws." It can thus be said that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court was a step in institutional integration, or at least that this was the primary problem before the court.

The concept of stable equilibrium implies that through integrative mechanisms endogenous variations are kept within limits compatible with the maintenance of the main structural patterns, and through adaptive mechanisms fluctuations in the relations between system and environment are similarly kept within limits. If we look at what is meant by stable equilibrium from the perspective of the principle of inertia,<sup>5</sup> then it becomes a problem to account for alterations in this stable state through disturbances of sufficient magnitude to overcome the stabilizing or equilibrating forces or mechanisms. Once a disturbance fulfilling these criteria is present, then, the problem is that of tracing its effects through the system, and defining the conditions under which new stable states can be predicted (or, retrospectively, accounted for).

Such changes may in principle be either endogenous or exogenous or both, but in approaching the problem it is essential to bear in mind that I am here dealing with the concept social system in a strict analytical sense. Therefore, changes originating in the personalities of the members of the social system, the behavioral organisms "underlying" these, or the cultural system as such are to be classed as exogenous, whereas common sense would have it that only the physical environment (including other organisms and societies), and perhaps the "supernatural," is truly exogenous.<sup>6</sup>

---

Communist powers as to what the UN itself and the system of international order of which it is a guardian in fact consist in. The slogans of imperialism and colonialism formulate the Communist view of everything not under their more or less direct control. If this is the "diagnosis" it is quite clear that the present organization is not "doing its job."

<sup>5</sup>The concept of inertia is here used in the sense of classical mechanics, namely to designate stability in rate and direction of process, not a state in which "nothing happens." The *problem* then becomes that of accounting for change in rate or direction, including "slowing down." This of course runs counter to much of common sense in the field of human action.

<sup>6</sup>The basis of this paragraph is stated in T. Parsons, "An Approach to Psychological Theory in Terms of the Theory of Social Action," in *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, S. Koch, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), vol. 3. A fuller treatment of the subject is to be found in Part II of the General Introduction of *Theories of Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961).



The formal paradigm for the analysis of the general system of action which I with various associates have been using would suggest first that the immediately most important channels of exogenous influence on the social system are the culture and the personality systems and also that the modes of their influence are different. The direct influence of the cultural system in turn should involve in the first instance empirical knowledge, hence should lead into the field of the sociology of knowledge in that area. Important as this is, because of limitations of space I shall not deal directly with it here,<sup>7</sup> but will confine myself to the boundary vis-à-vis the personality.

There is, however, a double reason why the boundary of the social system vis-à-vis the personality is particularly significant. In its most direct sense it is concerned with the "motivation" of the individual, in an analytical psychological sense, hence with his level of "gratification" and its negative, frustration. But *indirectly* the most critical point is that what is structurally the most critical component of social systems, what we call its institutionalized values, is institutionalized by way of its internalization in the personality of the individual. There is a sense in which the social system is "boxed in" between the cultural status of values and their significance to the integration of the individual personality.

The problem of analyzing the independent variability which may exist as between cultural values and personalities is beyond the scope of this paper; it may be presumed that problems such as those of charismatic innovation fall at least partly in this rubric. Given relative stability of this connection, however, we may suggest that there will be in the personality of the typical individual what may be called an integrate of value and motivational commitments which can for heuristic purposes be assumed to be stable, and that this in turn can be assumed to define the *orientation* component of the requisite role—expectations of the appropriate classes of individual actors. Furthermore, this should be true whether a society as a whole or a subsystem of it is under analysis. This assumption clearly implies that, for purposes of analyzing the particular process of change in question, the institutionalized values will be assumed to remain constant.

I am also assuming that the structure of normative patterns which defines the relations of the class of acting units under consideration to the objects in their situation is also given, initially, but that this is our primary independent variable; namely the problem is to account for processes of change in this normative structure, in institutions. This leaves the modalities of objects as the focus of initiation of change. I

<sup>7</sup>I have attempted to deal with this aspect of the sociology of knowledge, in a highly paradigmatic manner in the paper "An Approach to the Sociology of Knowledge," in the *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology*, IV (Spring, 1961).

shall therefore postulate a change in the relation of a social system to its environment which in the first instance impinges on the definition of the situation for one or more classes of acting units within the system and then has further repercussions which can put pressure for change on the normative institutional patterns. The type of pressure I have specifically in mind is in the direction of differentiation.

Before attempting to outline a formal analysis perhaps it would be helpful to introduce an empirical example. A good one, of particular interest to rural sociologists and so important to the whole process of "modernization," is the differentiation of the collectivities in which occupational roles are performed from the kinship units in which the personal security of the individual and his "consumption" interests are anchored. The shift over from the family farm to the typical "urban" occupational situation of course involves this.

Even with such a seemingly simple case it is important to treat the question of system references with great care. Going on in the relevant sectors of the society in question there will be at least two processes of differentiation of operative units, namely, (1) at the collectivity level between kinship units and units which perform primarily "productive" functions in the society, which are mainly "specific-function" organizations. There may, however, be important intermediate cases like the classical family firm which at the ownership-management level is still "fused" but at the "employee" level has become differentiated. (2) At the role level, where the individual person who retains his membership in a kinship unit also comes to perform a role in a productive organization for which his services constitute important facilities. Not only should these two "operational" levels of the process of differentiation be distinguished, but it should be kept in mind that the same concrete process will presumably involve changes in the set of normative patterns governing each of the two units and the relations between them, and finally in the subsystem value institutionalized in these units, if not in the overall value system of the society, a possibility which is excluded from present consideration by our assumptions.

For present purposes it is not necessary to raise questions about "subsistence." It is enough that functions which have come to be organized about occupational roles were previously, so far as they were performed at all, performed within the kinship unit so that at the role level, e.g., the "husband-father" both "worked in the business" and "interacted" with his wife and children in his familial roles.

Some of the familiar things which must happen for the process to take place are (1) a loss of functions by the kinship unit, (2) a new pattern of organization of the functions which have come to be dissociated from the kinship unit, (3) a substitution of new ways of taking care of the needs of the kinship unit which are occasioned by this loss of service to it, (4) a way of organizing the terms of their relationships including

the handling of the risks entailed in "cutting loose" from kinship in favor of employment in the new organization, and (5) a way of balancing the legitimation of both units at both the collectivity and the role levels so that the inevitable component of conflict of interest is "contained" within a pattern of mutual contribution to higher-order system functioning.

The new pattern of organization in this case is clearly the social structure of the employing collectivity. The loss of function from the point of view of the kinship unit is typically compensated by money income which in turn gives access to various needed goods and services through the market mechanism. The terms of employment are regulated by the contract of employment which is part of the larger complex comprising the institution of contract, whereas the market entails adequate institutionalization, among other things, of the money mechanism. Risks are handled by various devices, first the security of the particular employment, then alternatives of employment, then insurance, public responsibility, and so on. Conflict of interest is handled above all by the definition of the situation that employment is a channel for valued contribution to the welfare of the system in that the employing organization is conceived to be engaged in making such contributions. The alternative is definition of the relation of the organization to the family as one of "exploitation."

In the nature of the case at both collectivity and role levels there is *one* structural unit at the beginning of such a process of differentiation. It is, however, essential to look from both sides at the functional problem which is the setting for the process. The principle of inertia tells us that there will probably be resistance to the order of change which involves transfer of functions from within the original unit outside it to qualitatively different units; the transfer will quite literally be felt to be a loss.

Any number of factors may, however, make it difficult or impossible for this unit to cope with increasing "pressures." Leaving out the alternative of sheer disintegration—empirically important as that is—there is a highly important distinction to be made between differentiation and segmentation. Thus in American agricultural history, the combination of rapidly increasing population and availability of new lands led for a long period to very rapid increase in the number of family farms which is a case of segmentation. The typical process was, of course, with the establishment of new nuclear families by marriages, for the new couples to establish family farms of their own instead of trying to "fit into" the going enterprise of a farm run by one of the parental couples—though of course a large fraction in fact did just that. But given technological and market conditions it clearly would not work for the same farms to support indefinitely increasing numbers, however the allocation of belongingness between kin of husband and wife has worked out.

Differentiation, however, entails a process by which new kinds of unit, as distinguished from more of the same kind, come to be established. Here it is possible to state a very important principle, namely that the new kind of unit, e.g., collectivity or role, will subserve what, from the point of view of the adaptive exigencies of the system of which it is a part, is a *higher-order* function than did the unit out of which it differentiates and than does the "residual" unit left by the establishment of the new one.

If the process of change is to involve differentiation, then, a crucial if not the crucial question comes to be that of the availability and sources of the resources necessary to bring about, not only a structural change, but one which entails the genesis of capacities in the system for levels of performance which previously were not possible. The alternative is either segmentation or a process of disorganization. In general we can say that the process of differentiation must go concomitantly with a process of reorganization of the normative culture of the system, not only at the level of operative units, but at the level of norms and subsystem values. Though increases of "energy" may be required to bring about the process of differentiation, the crucial set of factors is likely to concern what we have been calling "organization."

It should finally be recalled that a source of disturbance may be either endogenous or exogenous, and that this applies to discrepancies between reality and normative expectation as well as to "conditional" factors.

With these preliminaries in mind, let us now attempt to outline in general terms the main steps in a cycle of differentiation, and then apply the analysis to the case of differentiation between household and producing collectivity.

We may start with the postulation of a deficit of input at the goal-attainment boundary of the social system which is postulated as undergoing a process of differentiation, e.g., the family household which also performs "occupational" functions. Looking at it from a functional point of view, it may be said that the "frustration" of its capacity to attain its goals, or fulfill its expectations, may focus at either of the functional levels which is important to it, namely its productive effectiveness or its effectiveness in performing what later come to be the "residual" family functions of socialization and regulation of the personalities of members, or of course some combination of the two. Secondly, it will of course concern the boundary between this and other subsystems of the society. In this case the important boundary conceptions are the markets for commodities and labor and the ideological "justifications" of the unit's position in the society, which may or may not take a prominently religious direction. But underlying this is the problem of input from the personality of the individual into the social system at the more general level; in the present case this is likely to be particularly important because familial and occupational roles

are, for the personality of the adult, the most important foci of commitment to the performance of societal function. Third, there will be some balance between the two components of frustration just mentioned, namely with respect to the conditional components of facilities and rewards, and with respect to the normative components of expectation systems. The latter component is the indispensable condition of the process leading to differentiation.

The complexity involved in these three distinctions may seem formidable, but it may be argued that the difficulty is not so serious as it sounds. It is the last one which is the most crucial because of the importance of a normative component somewhere. The difference between the other two concerns that between exogenous and endogenous sources of change for the system in question; personalities in roles in the particular social system of reference operate "directly" on that system, not through its boundary interchanges with other social systems.

The most important point to be made here is that, *whatever its source*, if a disturbance impinges on the goal-attaining subsystem of a social system, its effects will, in the first instance, be propagated in two directions. One of these concerns the functional problem of access to facilities for the performance of primary functions, namely the kind of facilities available and the terms on which they are available. The other direction concerns the kind of integrative support which the unit receives within the system, the senses in which it can be said to have a "mandate" to "do a job." Back of that, in turn, and on a still higher level of control is the basic "legitimation" of its functioning. Support here may be defined as particularized to the specific unit or class of units. Legitimation on the other hand concerns more the functions than the particular unit and the normative more than the operative patterns.

These three problems fit into a hierarchy of control. The first is an adaptive problem and must be solved first if the groundwork of solution of the others is to be laid, and so on for the others. What is meant by "solution" in this case is provision of *opportunity* in a facilities sense for the higher level of functioning in question to be attained. Opportunity thus conceived is always double-barreled, in that it has a concrete resource aspect on the one hand, a normatively controlled "mechanism" or standard aspect on the other.

Another familiar sociological concept should be brought in here, namely ascription. Ascription is essentially the *fusion* of intrinsically independent functions in the same structural unit. Looked at in this way differentiation is a process of "emancipation" from ascriptive ties. As such it is a process of gaining "freedom from" certain restraints. But it is also the process of fitting into a normative order which can subject the now independent units to a type of normative control compatible



with the functional imperative of the larger system of which they are a part. In differentiating, however, the unit gains certain degrees of freedom of choice and action which were not open to it before the process of differentiation had taken place. Moreover, this should be the case whichever side of the division is taken as a point of reference.

This point can be made clearer in terms of our illustrative example. The family farm producing for a market is, relative to anything like subsistence agriculture, already far along on the continuum of differentiatedness. But the resources available to its "management" cannot be dissociated from those belonging to the family household; it is a matter perhaps of relatively arbitrary decision on the part of the farmer what proportion of monetary resources he will allocate to operation of the farm, and what proportion he will "withdraw" for family consumption including, for instance, education of children.

The structural transition we have in mind would typically entail his change of status from that of proprietor of a farm to that of employee of a producing unit of some sort—whether it be agricultural or not. There has been a tendency to define this change as a derogation of status for the family head, but let us look at it from another point of view.

The family farm is in a position, as a family unit, of being ascribed to a particular source of income, namely the market for the sale of the products which it is feasible to grow in the location, with the type of land and other resources available. In "sloughing off" the productive function, the family becomes emancipated from ascription to "making a living" from the sale of its own agricultural products. The principal income earner—leaving aside for the moment other contributors—can fulfill his primary obligations to his family through any one of a much wider range of alternative sources of income, namely any organization which will accept him for employment, and of course pay him enough.

The obverse of this emancipation from ascription to a relatively particularized source of income is the freedom to offer a much wider variety of services in exchange for income. The labor force, that is to say, may become much more highly differentiated, and a wider variety of specialized talents may find employment. A new set of conditions are of course introduced, because the more important specialized talents often involve prerequisites of training and experience which cannot be universally taken for granted.

These two are the relatively "conditional" factors from the point of view of the household. We may say that it cannot afford to let the process of differentiation take place unless certain minima in these respects are if not guaranteed made highly probable. These probabilities are, in turn, dependent on two further sets of considerations which involve the more ramified relationship systems in which the process takes place. These are considerations in the first place of the nature of

the labor market in which the income earner has to offer his services; above all the extent to which he is protected against pressures to accept particularly disadvantageous terms. There are three main mechanisms involved in modern labor markets at the operative level, though others may operate in other ways. These are of course competition between potential employers, the self-protective measures of employee groups, e.g., through collective bargaining, and establishment and enforcement of a normative order by "higher" authority, e.g., public agencies. The effect of regulation of terms by any combination of these factors is to emancipate the unit from exposure to particular pressures exerted by any one source of supply, e.g., of income. Through such means as the monetary mechanisms and credit instruments, there is also time-extension in that the employee is emancipated from the pressures of immediacy to a degree to which this may not be the case for the proprietor.

The above discussion is stated from the point of view of the family as a unit. For completeness it would be necessary to turn it around and raise the question of feasibility from the point of view of production<sup>8</sup> by an organizational unit structurally differentiated from kinship groups. Here the primary functional problem of facilities would be that of access to an adequate labor force on the kinds of terms which would fit in with its exigencies. (For the family case I have taken the availability of consumers' goods for granted since the commercial family farm already procured them through the market.)

Let us now turn to the second context, that of support for the performance of function. This is the kind of context in which farming is regarded as a "way of life" rather than a "business." Typically occupational employment is justified by the higher level of efficiency of such organization in producing a higher standard of living, but this may be problematical when it involves ceasing to be "independent" and "working for ones own" rather than for an employer. On the other side there is the problem of "loss of function" of the family with the implication that the differentiated family is not "doing a worth-while job" but is coming to be a consumption unit alone—a question particularly coming to a head in the alleged concentration of the feminine role on "leisure" activities. We may follow through this context in terms of the problem of degrees of freedom, being careful to distinguish the two levels which above have been called support and legitimation.

The problem in which I am calling the context of support is the position of the family in locally significant "public opinion." The support of this unit is ascribed to the conception that acceptable status in

<sup>8</sup>In speaking throughout this discussion of "production" I have not meant it to be confined to firms, but to include all organizations which perform a specific function but which employ services through a contract of employment, thus differentiating the occupational role of the individual from the familial.



the community is bound to proprietorship of an enterprise, with all its connotations about the place of property—the employed person is in some sense a second class citizen. It seems to follow that, just as in the context of facilities available to differentiating units the relevant frame of reference or “reference group” was the market, both for labor and for consumers’ goods, in that of “support” it is the local community, since both residential unit and employing unit for the typical adult must be comprised within this. In the undifferentiated case the core structure of the local community in America consists in proprietary kinship units—in the first instance farm families, but the same structural patterns extend to small businesses and professional practices in market towns. In the differentiated case it is residential kinship units on the one hand, employing organizations on the other.

Since the basic “goals” of residential kinship units as such are in the nature of the case ascribed, namely as socialization of children and management of the personalities of members,<sup>9</sup> the community gains in this respect an exceedingly important new range of freedom in the new levels and diversities of, in the above broad sense, “productive” achievement, which higher level organizations are capable of carrying out and which are beyond the capacities of kinship units. The typical family unit need no longer look to units of its own type of structure for these benefits, thus staying within the limits imposed by this structure, and members of the community can support the functions of the community *both* in the familial realm and in the productive without making their ascription to each other a condition.

This, however, is possible only if there are standards which regulate the terms on which the two categories of functions are related to each other. This, in part, concerns market relations; but a number of other things are also involved, such as obligations for contributing to the support of common community interests, both through taxation and through voluntary channels. There must be a new set of “rules of the game” according to which both sets of operating units can live in the same community without undue friction. One major focus of these balancing institutions lies in the field of stratification, above all perhaps because the larger scale of organization of producing units in the differentiated sense makes it impossible to preserve the basis of equality of kinship units of a family-farm community.

This leads over into the problem of legitimation which concerns the justifications or questioning of the basic pattern of organization of socially important functions in terms of the institutionalized values of the system. Here the problem is that of emancipating the formulae of legitimation from the organizational particularities of the less differentiated situation. These considerations clearly get over into the ideo-

<sup>9</sup>The rationale for this imputation has been stated in T. Parsons, R. Bales, *et al.*, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), ch. i.

logical realm. For differentiation to be legitimated it must no longer be believed that only proprietors are really "responsible" people, or that organizations which are not controlled by locally prestigious kinship units are necessarily concerned only with "self-interest" and are not really "contributing." On the other side, the family which has "lost functions" can really be a "good family."

Perhaps the most important focus of this new legitimation is the new conception of the adequate, socially desirable *man*, particularly as organized about the balancing of the two differentiated spheres of performance and responsibility, in his occupational role on the one hand, in his family on the other. If this is the case, then clearly there are extremely important concomitant problems of change in the feminine role. The first stage of these probably concerns the ideological legitimation of a more differentiated femininity than before, namely that even in a family which has lost function it is justified for the woman to devote herself primarily to husband and children. A later phase involves various forms of community participation and occupational involvement.

These three seem to be the main contexts in which the direct impact of the impetus to structural change must work out if it is to result in the differentiation of a previously fused structure. For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that there will be certain other more indirect problem areas. One of these is that of the sheer content of consumption tastes which is involved in a change in the standard of living, and its relation to the occupational contribution of the income earner. A second is the problem of the relation of values, at various levels of specification, not only to the more immediate problems of the legitimation of the various classes of structural units in the system, but to that of the more generalized norms and standards which regulate their relations. Finally, the most indirect of all seems to lie in the field of what Durkheim called organic solidarity. I interpret this to mean the normative regulation of the adaptive processes and mechanisms. As I see it, this is the primary link between what I have called support on the one hand and the realistic play of "interests" of the various units on the other.

The above discussion has dealt, in far too great a hurry, with several different "functional" contexts in which some kind of reordering has to take place if a process of differentiation, as this has been defined, is to be completed and the new structure stabilized. It is of the essence of the present view that in each of these there is involved a complex balance of input-output relationships such that too great a tipping in either direction with respect to any one such balance could make the difference between successful differentiation and its failure. The dismal complexity of the resulting picture is, however, somewhat mitigated by considerations of the hierarchy of control and hence of the fact that

firm establishment of the "proper" patterns at the higher levels may make it possible to exercise control over rather wide ranges of variation at the lower.

The problem of the sequence of phases in such a process and the relations of these to the balances between resistance and more "progressive" factors has been—sketchily, to be sure—dealt with elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> The essential point, perhaps, is that these balances must be adjusted in the favorable direction in a relatively determinate temporal sequence, if the successful outcome is to take place. Crucial as these problems are, there is no space to enter into them here.

Instead of this, in conclusion, I should like to attempt to summarize certain of the primary conditions of successful differentiation which also constitute in a sense characterizations of the outcome in the relevant respects. First there is what I have called the *opportunity* factor. This is the aspect of the structure of the situation which is most directly relevant to the process of differentiation as such. The operation of the process of course presupposes a need or demand factor, the source of disturbance to which reference was made above. The implementation of the process of differentiation in turn implies a leadership factor in that some individual or group should take responsibility, not only for routine "management" but for reorganization. The entrepreneur of standard economic discussion is a prototypical example.

But for there to be genuine differentiation there must be a process by which facilities, previously ascribed to less differentiated units, are freed from this ascription and are made available through suitable adaptive mechanisms for the utilization of the higher-order new class of units which are emerging. The prototype of such facilities for the process considered above is that of labor services, freed from ascription to the household unit, but with their availability to the employing organization institutionally regulated in terms of the market system and the institutionalization of the contract of employment. The obverse is of course the accessibility, for the residual household units, of necessary facilities through the expenditure of money income on the markets for consumers' goods. Looked at then in structural terms the opportunity factor is essentially the possibility of institutionalizing the mutual access to facilities, in this case through the market mechanisms. In another type of case, for instance, it may be the mechanisms of communication.

The second main context of structural reorganization concerns the way in which the two new and differentiated classes of units are related to each other in the wider system, in the first instance from the point of

<sup>10</sup>Cf. T. Parsons and N. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956) ch. iv. A considerably more developed version, applied to a case of special interest here, is given in N. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), esp. chs. ix-xiii.

view of the structure of collectivities. I have suggested, for the case of the producing household, that what is primarily involved here is a restructuring of the local community. The latter can no longer be an aggregate of proprietary kinship units, only supplemented by a few structures articulating it with the wider society, but it comes to be organized about the relationships between "residential" units and "employing" units.<sup>11</sup> It is evident that this entails articulating the most important *differentiated* roles of the same individual, in the first instance of course the typical adult male.

This may be called the restructuring of the ways in which the particular unit, collectivity and role, is included in higher-order collectivity structures in the society. Since in the nature of the case any initial collectivity unit (or role unit) is part of a society, it is not a question whether it should or should not be included; for example, the case of absorption of immigrant kin groups into a host society is a different problem from that now under consideration. The point is rather that there must be a restructuring of collectivities on the level immediately above that of the initial unit, with either the incorporation of both the old (or "residual") unit and the new in an already available higher-order unit, or the creation of a new category of such units, or both. The essential point is that there must be established a new collectivity structure within which both types of units perform essential functions and in the name of which both can draw the kind of "support" discussed above. The problem is of course particularly acute for the newly emerging unit or class of units.

The third context in which normative components of structure have to be reorganized as part of a process of differentiation is that of the more general complexes of institutionalized norms which apply not to one collectivity structure but to many. The prototype here for large-scale and highly differentiated social systems is the system of legal norms, but it is not confined to that. Standards of performance or achievement, of technical adequacy, and the like are also involved.

In the case we have used for illustration, the standards in terms of which employing collectivities are legitimized are particularly important. Here it is important to recognize two different stages beyond that of the proprietary unit which was our original point of reference, namely that in which all productive roles are performed by household members. The next step has usually been the "family firm" in which the managerial and entrepreneurial roles were ascribed to kinship, but the "labor" roles were not. This of course is still very prominent in the "small business" sector of the American economy, and also in some other fields. But beyond this is the case where the organization is cut entirely loose from kinship. The most important legal aspect of this

<sup>11</sup>Cf. T. Parsons, "The Principal Structures of Community," *Structure and Process in Modern Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), ch. viii.

development has been the generalization of the idea of the corporation and its legitimation in many different fields, quantitatively of course most conspicuously the economic.

At the role level an important case is that of the standards of competence which become institutionalized as defining conditions of employment in certain classes of roles, behind which in turn lie levels of education. These, like legal norms, are independent of any particular employing collectivity or kinship group—in this sense both are universalistic. The rules of corporate organization define the kinds of things certain organized groups can do and the responsibilities they assume in organizing to do them; standards of education define the kinds of legitimate requirements of eligibility for certain types of employment which may be laid down, hence both the kinds of opportunities open to individuals of various classes, and the ways in which access to such opportunity is limited.

It has been suggested above that a process of differentiation, with the meaning we have given that term, involves the establishment of a unit having primary functions of a higher order, seen in terms of the system in which it operates, than was the function of the unit from which it differentiates. If this is the case, then the norms governing the performance of that function, including the relations of its performers to other units in the social structure, must be of a higher order of generality than before. This is what we mean by saying that they are more universalistic; they define standards which cannot, in their relevance, be confined to the lower-order function and the units performing it. This criterion is directly involved with the emancipation of resources from ascription. Competence as a qualification for a role, in a sense which denies the relevance of kinship membership, is prototypical. Thus we may speak of an *upgrading* of the standards of normative control of the more differentiated system as compared with the less differentiated one.

This whole discussion has been based on the assumption that the underlying value-pattern of the system does not change as a part of the process of differentiation. It does not, however, follow that nothing changes at the level of values. It is an essential proposition of the conceptual scheme used here that every social system has a system of values as the highest-order component of its structure. Its values comprise the definition, from the point of view of its members—if it is institutionalized—of the desirable type of system at a level independent of internal structural differentiation or of particularities of situation. This "system" involves both a pattern type and an element of content, namely a definition of what kind of system the pattern applies to. In our case there are the values of households and of employing-productive units. In what I am calling "pattern" terms they may be the same, e.g., both of them incorporating the general American pattern of "instrumental



activism." But if these values are to be implemented in either type of system there must be specifications of the more general system to the type of function (not its particularities), and to the type of situation in which the unit operates.

Where differentiation has occurred, this means that the values of the new system, which includes both the new and the residual unit, must be different in the content component from that of the original unit, though not, under present assumptions, in the pattern component. The new values must be more extensive in the special sense that they can legitimize the functions of both differentiated units under a single formula, which permits each to do what it does and, equally essential, not to do what the other does. The difficulty of institutionalizing the more extensive values is evidenced by the widespread currency of what may be called romantic ideologies in this sense, the allegation that the "loss of function," which is an inevitable feature of what I call the residual unit after the differentiation, has taken place, is a measure of failure to implement the value-pattern of the system. For example, the new dependence of households on occupational earnings from employing organizations is often interpreted as loss of a sense of responsibility for independent support. This to be sure is ideology, but as such is an index of incomplete institutionalization of restructured values.

The relation between the values of a higher-order social system and those of a differentiated subsystem may be said to be one of *specification* of the implications of the more generalized pattern of the more extensive system to the "level" of the subsystem, by taking account of the limitations imposed upon the latter by function and situation. In this sense a business firm may value "economic rationality" in a sense which comprises both productivity and solvency, with considerably less qualification for more extensive values than an undifferentiated family household can, and in a complementary sense the household can devote itself in economic contexts to "consumption."

The above is sufficient to indicate only a few highlights of a very complex problem area. In this paper I have dealt with only one aspect of the field of the theory of social change. I have had to do so very abstractly and with only a tiny bit of empirical illustration. It does, however, seem to me justified to draw the conclusion that the problems of this area are in principle soluble in empirical-theoretical terms. Above all we have at our disposal a conceptual scheme which is sufficiently developed so that at least at the level of categorization and of problem statement it is approaching the type of closure—logical of course—which makes *systematic* analysis of interdependencies possible. We can define the main ranges of variability which are essential for empirical analysis, and the main mechanisms through which variations are propagated through the system. We can quantify to the point of designating deficits and surpluses of inputs and outputs, and here and

there we can come close to specifying threshold values beyond which equilibrium will break down.

This of course is not in the least to say that some neat package of operationally usable analysis has been completely worked out for such a complex process as a cycle of differentiation. Indeed, I have deliberately emphasized the theme of complexity, as exemplified by the insistence that at least four different components of the normative aspect of structure must be taken into account, in the sense that changes in all of them are parts of the process of differentiation. Though emphasizing complexity, however, I have also meant to indicate that there is sufficient definiteness and clarity at sufficiently high levels of theoretical generalization so that the conceptual scheme I have been presenting can function as a genuine kit of working tools for the sociological analyst. I hope this can legitimately be considered encouraging for the prospects of our science in the near rather than only the distant future.



J. GILBERT HARDEE

## **Social Structure and Participation in an Australian Rural Community**

This study of social participation among a sample of male household heads in a rural community of Victoria, Australia, indicates that in terms of numbers of different types of formal voluntary organizations this kind of group is an important part of the social organization of the community. The great variety of organizations is indicative of a high degree of differentiation of interests among the population.

There is strong evidence of status selectivity of participants in these organizations, not only as to the degree of their participation in organizations but also as to the types of organizations to which they belong.

It would also appear from this analysis that the Chapin Social Participation Scale is a suitable measure of formal participation for populations in Australia.

The author is assistant professor of rural sociology, North Carolina State College.\*

THE study of formal social participation in the United States has engaged the efforts of a number of sociologists over the past three decades. These studies of both rural and urban areas have resulted in an accumulating body of knowledge about the structure of formal voluntary organizations, the extent to which Americans are members of such groups, and the extent to which participation in these groups tends to be conditioned by various social factors.

Much less is known about formal voluntary organizations in other societies. It is known that in the more advanced societies where institutional functions traditionally performed by the family, the community, the neighborhood, etc., are shifting to other institutional structures, formal voluntary organizations have emerged. Two attempts at a cross-

\*This paper was presented before the Rural Sociological Society on August 26, 1960, at Pennsylvania State University, University Park. The paper is based on data from the author's Ph.D. dissertation (unpublished), "Factors Influencing Social Participation in an Australian Rural Community and Selected American Rural Areas," University of Kentucky, 1958.

cultural comparative analysis of social participation are noted. Rose has discussed the relative unimportance of formal voluntary organizations in France together with a theoretical explanation of the differences between voluntary associations in that country and in the United States. He found particularly noteworthy the relative paucity of what he calls "social influence" associations as contrasted with "expressive" associations.<sup>1</sup> Dotson has made certain comparisons between the participation patterns of a sample of husbands and wives in a Mexican city with findings in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Although it is not within the scope of this paper to draw parallels between participation patterns in Australia and the United States, the theoretical basis for the study was derived from social participation research in the United States. More specifically, the purpose here is to examine the relationship between social participation in one Australian rural community and one important aspect of social structure—social stratification.

One of the most consistent and suggestive findings from numerous studies reported in the United States is that participation in formal voluntary organizations tends to be conditioned by the position which persons occupy in the stratification structure of the community.<sup>3</sup> Hence, the general hypothesis to be tested, stated in null form, is that *neither the kind of formal voluntary organizations which persons belong to nor the degree of their participation in these organizations are associated with their position in the stratification structure of the community.*

<sup>1</sup>Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), ch. iv.

<sup>2</sup>Floyd Dotson, "A Note on Participation in Voluntary Associations in a Mexican City," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1953), 380-386.

<sup>3</sup>A few of the many studies in this area, including both rural and urban studies, are as follows: W. A. Anderson and Harold E. Smith, *Formal and Informal Participation in a New York Village* (Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta., Dept. of Rural Sociology Memo. Bull. 28; Ithaca, 1952); Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (1956), 13-25; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), 25-34; Emory J. Brown, *Elements Associated with Activity and Inactivity in Rural Organizations* (Pennsylvania Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 574; State College, 1954); Otis D. Duncan and Jay W. Artis, *Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community with Special Reference to Social Participation* (Pennsylvania Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 543; State College, 1951); Harold F. Kaufman, *Participation in Organized Activities in Selected Kentucky Localities* (Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 528; Lexington, 1949); Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1946), 686-698; William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 380-383; Leonard Reissman, "Class Leisure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 76-84; John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), 315-326; Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (1958), 284-294.

Formal participation, operationally defined in this study, consists of taking part as a member, attendant, contributor, committee member, or officer in groups which have a name, usually select a regular set of officers, permit membership by choice as compared to compulsory membership, and have at least one face to face meeting a year. Membership in the church is included in the analysis. The operational definition of a person's position in the stratification structure refers to his rank position, relative to others in the community, on such indicators of social stratification as level of income, formal education, occupational status, rated prestige, level of living, and socioeconomic status.

Because of close similarities in the general cultural orientations of the American and Australian societies it might be expected that similarities exist in the ways persons relate themselves to each other in organized groups. Both societies emerged under somewhat parallel circumstances, predominantly influenced by the same culture. The population of each is predominantly Anglo-Saxon in origin; both societies are relatively young and have experienced similar pioneering ventures; settlement of farm people on dispersed farmsteads is typical of both societies; both have a conjugal type family organization; and strong emphasis in each society has been placed upon democratic ideals under similar political systems. Furthermore, widespread utilization of advanced technology coupled with low population pressure has made possible a high level of living of persons as contrasted to the majority of the world's population.

#### THE COMMUNITY AND DATA OBTAINED FOR THE STUDY

Data used in the study were obtained by the writer during a five-month period in 1951. Data were obtained on heads of households and wives of heads in a 20 per cent sample of all households in one rural community. The analysis in this paper deals only with the male heads of households except for certain comparisons.

Tatura Community is located in a prosperous farming area of the Goulburn Region in north central Victoria. Tatura Village, the community center, has been the seat of local government for Rodney Shire<sup>4</sup> since 1886 or about 17 years after the first settlers began arriving in the area. In 1951 the estimated population of the village was 1,330, and the number of open-country residents of the community was estimated to be 1,360.

Briefly some of the more important characteristics of the community are as follows: (1) a population consisting almost entirely of residents having English, Scottish, and Irish origin; (2) a settlement pattern typified by dispersed farmsteads; (3) an economy based primarily upon

<sup>4</sup>The shire is a unit of local government in Australia similar to the county in the United States.

agricultural production on land partially irrigated and secondarily upon small industry engaged in the processing of agricultural products; (4) denominational representation of residents in two Catholic churches, two Presbyterian churches, a Church of England group, and a Methodist church; (5) eight state-supported primary schools, and two Catholic parochial schools which provide for both primary and secondary education; (6) a wide variety of organized sports engaged in by essentially all age groups in the community; and (7) a wide variety of formal voluntary organizations.

A random proportional stratified sample of household heads residing in Tatura Village was drawn on the basis of five occupational categories. A random nonstratified sample of open-country household heads was drawn. Information on both the husband and wife was obtained by personal interviews with either the husband or wife in 128 of the 133 sample households. In nine of the 128 households there was no male head; therefore, this analysis is based on 119 cases.

Data for both husbands and wives included a record of their participation in formal voluntary organizations during the previous year, as well as education, occupation, net family income, items on the short form of Sewell's Socioeconomic Status Scale, age, religious affiliation, and so on. Additionally, prestige ratings on all sample household heads were secured by the co-operation of five independent raters.

### THE DESIGN OF ANALYSIS

In testing the general null hypothesis two sets of variables are used. The independent variable is measured by six indicators of the position of persons in the stratification structure of the community. The dependent variable is measured by memberships in designated types of organizations and by the Chapin Participation Scale. The chi-square test is used to determine statistical differences and the corrected coefficient of contingency ( $\bar{C}$ ) to measure the degree of association between variables.

#### *Independent variables*

*Income:* Net family income during the previous year was recorded in terms of six broad categories, ranging from "less than 250 pounds" through "4,000 pounds or more."

*Education:* The highest school grade completed was used as a measure of formal education.

*Occupational status:* Occupations of male heads of households were classified by the writer into five broad status classes and ranked on the basis of his considered judgment as to the relative status of occupations in the community. The occupational-status classes consist of the following, listed in descending rank order: (1) professional, (2) proprietary and managerial, (3) farm owners and farm managers, (4) clerical, and

(5) laborers (skilled, unskilled, and farm) and farm tenants.<sup>5</sup>

*Rated prestige:* Three businessmen and two farmers were asked independently to rank the sample household heads into high, medium, and low categories according to their "general standing" in the community. Values of 1, 2, and 3 were then assigned to the three categories, respectively, and a rated prestige score computed for each household head by taking an average of the ratings which he received. Hence, the range in scores was from a high of 1 to a low of 3.<sup>6</sup>

*Level of living:* By use of item analysis a six-item level-of-living index was constructed from items contained in the Sewell Socioeconomic Status Scale (short form),<sup>7</sup> viz., power washing machine, mechanical refrigerator, telephone, automobile, water piped into the house, and room-person ratio. The two items on education and the two on social participation were dropped prior to the item analysis.

*Socioeconomic status:* Following Kaufman's suggestion that the technique of factor analysis might possibly be employed fruitfully in isolating common factors reflected in separate indices of stratification,<sup>8</sup> an index was constructed of the first common factor extracted from the intercorrelations of the five preceding variables. This common factor was assumed to be a measure of socioeconomic status. In general, intercorrelations among the five variables are low, ranging from .21 (Kendall tau) between education and income to .51 between level-of-living scores and rated prestige scores. All correlation coefficients are, however, significant beyond the 5 per cent level.

### *Dependent variables*

*Formal participation:* Beside memberships in designated types of formal voluntary organizations, the other measure of formal social participation used in the analysis is the Chapin Social Participation Scale.<sup>9</sup> Although the Chapin Scale has been widely used in the United States, tests for the suitability of its use on an Australian population were

<sup>5</sup>In a study by Taft of occupational prestige ratings by a sample population in a metropolitan area and a coal mining town of western Australia, farmers were ranked in an intermediate position between the professional occupations of doctor, civil engineer, clergyman, school teacher, radio announcer, and other occupations such as policeman, factory foreman, electrician, clerk. See Ronald Taft, "The Social Grading of Occupations in Australia," *British Journal of Sociology*, IV (1953), 181-187.

<sup>6</sup>For a detailed analysis of prestige ratings as well as procedures used in constructing indexes of other stratification variables, see the author's dissertation, *op. cit.*, ch. vi.

<sup>7</sup>William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (1943), 161-169.

<sup>8</sup>Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community* (Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Memoir 260; Ithaca, 1944), p. 42.

<sup>9</sup>F. Stuart Chapin, *Social Participation Scale* (rev. ed; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952). The Chapin Scale is composed of five items, with weights as follows: membership (1 point), attendance (2 points), contributions (3 points), committee membership (4 points), and office (5 points).



considered essential. First, from the participation records of sample male household heads intercorrelations of the five components of the Chapin Scale were computed. The resulting correlation coefficients (Kendall tau's) among the five items ranged from .52, between contributions and offices, to .86, between memberships and contributions.

Again using participation records of household heads, Guttman scaling techniques were employed to determine the extent to which the five items constitute a scale for this sample population. After preliminary examination of the initial scalogram, dichotomous categories for each item were developed as follows: offices (0, 1 or more); committee memberships (0, 1 or more); organizations attended (0-1, 2 or more); organizations contributed to (0-1, 2 or more); and memberships (1, 2 or more). Six scale patterns emerged. The resulting coefficient of reproducibility is .97, which is well above the usually accepted level. A further measure of item scalability, the coefficient of scalability, was applied to the data with a resulting coefficient of .84, which is again well above the acceptance level tentatively adopted for this measure.<sup>10</sup>

Scale scores derived by the Guttman technique were used in testing the validity of the Chapin Scale for the sample male household heads. Since each person was located within one of six scale patterns and since the scale patterns could be ordered from lowest to highest rank it was possible, by assigning scores of 1 through 6 to the scale patterns, to correlate Guttman scale scores with scores on the Chapin Scale. Scores on the two scales have a high correlation (Kendall tau of .84). It may therefore be tentatively concluded, at least for male household heads, that the Chapin Scale is a valid measure of social participation in this Australian community.

#### MEMBERSHIPS IN ORGANIZATIONS AND SELECTED STRATIFICATION VARIABLES

In testing the first part of the general hypothesis, the initial step was to classify organizations into broad types: religious, economic, sporting and recreational, fraternal, civic and welfare, patriotic, and educational. This was done by the author on the basis of his general knowledge of the organizations in which memberships were reported and does not represent an analysis of the stated purposes and objectives of each organization. This classification of organizations into discrete categories was made with the recognition that not all organizations have a single purpose and that some may be classified into more than one type.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>For a discussion of the coefficients of reproducibility and scalability see Herbert Menzel, "A New Coefficient for Scalogram Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 268-280.

<sup>11</sup>For example, see Ward W. Bauder, *Objectives and Activities in Organizations in Kentucky* (Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 639; Lexington, 1956), p. 15; J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society* (Wisconsin Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. 84; Madison, 1927), pp. 9-11.

Table 1. Male household heads' membership in designated types of organizations, Tatura Community, 1951

Types of organizations	Distribution of memberships ( <i>N</i> = 397)	Those holding one or more memberships	
	%	No.	%
Religious	26	96	81
Economic	27	57	48
Sporting and recreational	22	50	42
Civic and welfare	13	21	18
Fraternal	6	36	31
Patriotic	4	16	14
Educational	2	7	6
Total	100	—	—

Furthermore, the latent function(s) of any given organization may be considerably different from its manifest function(s).

Memberships of sample male household heads are heavily concentrated in three of the seven types—religious, economic, and sporting and recreational groups, each of these types accounting for approximately a fourth of all memberships. Half of the remaining memberships are in civic and welfare organizations (Table 1).<sup>12</sup> The most striking contrast between membership concentration of husbands and wives is in the fact that more than half (57 per cent) of wives' memberships are in religious organizations and only about a fourth (26 per cent) of husbands' memberships are in this type. About four-fifths of the men hold at least one membership in religious organizations (church membership only, except five cases), about half belong to one or more economic organizations, slightly more than two-fifths are in sporting and recreational groups, three in ten are in fraternal groups, and less than one-fifth are members of any of the other three types. Altogether, persons in the sample hold an average of 3.4 memberships in organizations. The average number of memberships in organizations other than the church is 2.5. Other than having membership in a church, about one-fifth (21.8 per cent) have no affiliations; about two-fifths (37.8 per cent) are members of one or two groups; and another two-fifths (40.4 per cent) belong to at least three organizations.

From an examination of the data in Table 2, which shows percentages of persons in various categories of each of the six stratification vari-

<sup>12</sup>Since only seven persons held memberships in educational organizations, this type is excluded from this analysis.



ables who also hold at least one membership in specified types of organizations, it is strongly evident that status selectivity of members is operating but varies by type of organization. In both religious (essentially the church) and patriotic organizations there are no significant differences between persons holding at least one membership in these types and occupying higher or lower positions on any of the six stratification variables. For each of the other four types, however, status selectivity of members is clearly indicated. Eighteen of the 24 tests for differences between memberships in these four types and positions on each of the stratification variables are significant beyond the 2 per cent level. That is, with few exceptions, higher percentages of persons occupying positions of higher status report memberships in economic, sporting and recreational, fraternal, and civic and welfare organizations than do persons occupying positions of lower status. It is particularly interesting to note that greater selectivity of memberships appears to exist in organizations with a dominant interest in sports and recreation than in other types. In no other type of organization is there a significant difference between all of the six stratification variables and memberships. The sample persons belong to a total of 21 sports and recreational groups, 17 of which are organized within the community.

In a wheat growing community in northwestern Victoria, Oeser and Emery found evidence of an "increasing differentiation in sporting activities," and they state that:

Organized sport is no longer the province of the young active male, regardless of class. It has now become, through a multiplication of organizations, the province of persons of both sexes and all ages, while status has become an important feature in determining organizational membership.<sup>18</sup>

With respect to memberships held in economic organizations, a much higher percentage of farm owners belong to these organizations (79 per cent) than do those in professional, proprietary, or managerial occupations (36 per cent) or those in occupations classified as clerical and laborer (15 per cent). These occupational differences may, in part, reflect certain characteristics of Australian agriculture, as the farmer typically competes on the international market with such commodities as wheat, wool, and dairy products. Furthermore, the general type of farming carried on in this community would tend to serve as a basis for greater diversity of special interest commodity groups than might be found in areas of specialized farming.

Without separate reports of the total number of organizations in which husbands and their wives in the sample are members, the number of groups meeting within the community is impressive. Outside of the seven churches in the community, memberships are reported in 78 different formal organizations. They are also reported in 47 such

<sup>18</sup>O. A. Oeser and F. E. Emery, *Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community* (London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 36.

Table 2. Male household heads' membership in designated types of organizations by selected stratification variables, Tatura Community, 1951

Stratification variables	No. of cases	Percentages with one or more memberships in designated types of organizations					
		Religious	Economic	Sporting and recreational	Fraternal	Civic and welfare	Patriotic
Total	118	81	48	42	31	18	14
Income (Aus. pounds) *							
1,000 and over	51	80	57	61†	43‡	25	14
Under 1,000	67	82	42	28	21	12	13
School years							
9 and over	32	81	63	59§	34	25	13
8	56	73	45	45	37	20	16
Less than 8	30	97	40	20	13	7	10
Occupational status class							
I and II	25	72	36†	76†	48	32‡	16
III	53	89	79	34	30	21	8
IV and V	40	78	15	33	20	5	20

Table 2. (Concluded)

Stratification variables	No. of cases	Percentages with one or more memberships in designated types of organizations					
		Religious	Economic	Sporting and recreational	Fraternal	Civic and welfare	Patriotic
Prestige scores							
High	30	73	60†	70†	50§	37†	23
Medium	49	86	71	41	35	20	6
Low	39	82	10	23	10	0	15
Level of living scores							
High	40	85	77†	63§	50§	33§	10
Medium	51	82	41	37	23	14	18
Low	27	74	18	22	15	4	11
Socioeconomic status scores							
High	46	80	70†	67†	48†	33§	13
Medium	34	88	59	21	27	15	9
Low	38	76	13	32	16	3	18

\*In 1951 the official exchange rate was: one Australian pound = \$2.25.

†Significant difference at .001 level.

‡Significant difference by chi-square test at .02 level.

§Significant difference at .01 level.

||Classes I and II consist of professional, proprietary, and managerial occupations. Class III consists of farm owners and farm managers. Classes IV and V consist of clerical, laborers (skilled, unskilled, and farm) and farm tenants.

Table 3. Male household heads' formal participation scores by selected stratification variables, Tatura Community, 1951

Stratification variables	No. of cases	Percentage of husbands by Chapin Participation Scores				$X^2$	$P$	$\bar{C}$
		Total	0-7	8-19	20 and over			
Income (Aus. pounds) *								
1,000 and over	51	100	12	23	65	22.5	.001	.58
Under 1,000	68	100	41	34	25			
School years								
9 and over	32	100	9	28	63	22.1	.001	.54
8	56	100	23	34	43			
Less than 8	31	100	58	23	19			
Occupation status class								
I and II	25	100	16	16	68	17.4	.01	.48
III	53	100	19	36	45			
IV and V	41	100	49	29	22			
Prestige scores								
High	30	100	3	20	77	46.8	.001	.71
Medium	49	100	16	39	45			
Low	40	100	62	25	13			
Level of living scores								
High	41	100	10	17	73	26.9	.001	.58
Medium	51	100	33	37	30			
Low	27	100	48	33	19			
Socioeconomic status scores								
High	46	100	2	26	72	38.3	.001	.67
Medium	34	100	36	32	32			
Low	39	100	54	31	15			
Total		100	29	29	42			

\*In 1951 the official exchange rate was: 1 pound = \$2.25.

groups, exclusive of church memberships, meeting outside the community.

### PARTICIPATION SCORES AND SELECTED STRATIFICATION VARIABLES

While the previous section has dealt with an analysis of membership differentials by organizational type and positions occupied by persons in the community's stratification structure, here we examine participation differences by use of an index of five items—those contained in the Chapin Participation Scale. This scale has been described by Chapin as a measure of both the extensity and intensity of formal social participation.

From the data in Table 3, showing tests of gross association between Chapin Scale Scores and the six stratification variables, it is possible to reject with confidence the second part of the null hypothesis, viz., that the degree of participation of persons in formal voluntary organizations is not associated with their position in the stratification structure of the community. On each of the six stratification variables, persons with higher rank consistently have higher scores on the Chapin Scale than persons of lower rank. All differences are highly significant. The degree of association (measured by the corrected coefficient of contingency,  $\bar{C}$ ) ranged from .48 for occupational status to .71 for rated prestige. In each case the direction of association is positive.

### CONCLUSION

This study of social participation among a sample of male household heads in a rural community of Victoria, Australia, indicates that in terms of numbers of different types of formal voluntary organizations this kind of group is an important part of the social organization of the community. The great variety of organizations is indicative of a high degree of differentiation of interests among the population.

There is strong evidence of status selectivity of participants in these organizations, not only as to the degree of their participation in organizations but also as to the types of organizations to which they belong. These findings need further testing, however, inasmuch as they are based on tests of gross association between measures of formal participation and several indices of positions held in the stratification structure.

It would also appear from this analysis that the Chapin Social Participation Scale is a suitable measure of formal participation for populations in Australia.

DAVID E. LINDSTROM

## Interest Group Relations and Functions in Rural Society

Data from a study of 947 rural-interest groups in Illinois, limited to formal types operating in the locality, were used to test five hypotheses: (1) most present-day local rural-interest groups are parts of larger social systems—have social-cultural linkages; (2) most rural-interest groups are of a size, especially in attendance at meetings, to have primary or face-to-face group characteristics; (3) leaders report that most rural-interest groups retain a considerable degree of policy-determining power; (4) most rural-interest groups operate on the basis of broad as well as narrow purposes or objectives; and (5) values to members as seen by leaders of rural-interest groups are related primarily to socialization, whereas stated objectives relate primarily to aid in solving special or technical problems. These hypotheses were in general supported by the data. It is concluded that if, as indicated, interest groups in rural society are not only a means for socialization and dissemination of information but for policy making, and if these groups function in and can contribute to community improvement, change agent elements in various types of social-culturally linked systems should recognize that co-operation among such target systems is important if there is to be effective community improvement.

David E. Lindstrom is professor of rural sociology, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois College of Agriculture.

STUDIES of the changing group structure of the rural community and the functions of various types of groups in a society which is in rapid change due to urbanization and other forces are important if programs of various kinds are to be effective. Interest groups, as defined below, seem to have had an increasing influence on the life of a rural community in the process of rapid change.<sup>1</sup>

The present study is concerned with interest groups in which farm people in Illinois take part. Interest groups as defined by Kolb and

<sup>1</sup>See John H. Kolb, *Emerging Rural Communities* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 137. See also, James N. Young and Ward W. Bauder, "Membership Characteristics of Special-Interest Organizations: A Comparison of Large and Small Organizations in Four Kentucky Counties" (*Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull.* 594; Lexington, 1953), p. 3.



Brunner "arise out of likenesses and differences in age, sex, occupation, tradition, experience, choice, propensity, intent, and so on. They may be contrasted with locality groups, which have lateral or geographic dimensions, whereas interest groups have perpendicular or voluntary dimensions. . . . Interest groups depend on polarity, promotion, narrower concerns, special leadership, and directed effort. This polarity implies fields of magnetic influence. When released from locality restriction, certain people are attracted to these poles of interest."<sup>2</sup>

Informal groups, such as congeniality, friendship, mutual aid, or clique groups as defined by Loomis and Beegle,<sup>3</sup> are classed as interest groups by Kolb and Brunner. These are excluded in the present study; rather attention is centered upon what Kolb and Brunner call associations which "usually have offices, a constitution and an accepted procedure."<sup>4</sup> Excluded also are some of the more formal groups listed by Loomis and his associates as organizations: schools, co-operative extension service, the "overhead" organizations of farm bureau, grange, farmers' union, and similar organizational systems, churches, colleges, elected governmental bodies, weekly newspapers, and radio stations.<sup>5</sup> Rather, attention has been centered in the present study on voluntary groups which function as entities in the rural community: community clubs, farmers' organizational locals, parent-teacher association locals, 4-H clubs, future farmer chapters, home improvement clubs, home bureau units, women's clubs, and some service clubs and local economic co-operatives.

Efforts were made to establish the universe for all types of formal rural-interest groups in Illinois as defined above. This was possible with respect to those having social-cultural linkages: in which the "change agent system and the target system are brought together in at least a temporary closure."<sup>6</sup> In the case of such target systems as home bureau units, women's club locals, parent-teacher associations, future farmer chapters, subordinate granges, farmers' union locals, and farm bureau units, the total number of units functioning in the state could be ascertained from the state office of the change agent system. But with such organizations as community clubs which were not formally linked to any other system it was possible to get an estimate of the number functioning only by asking county extension agents to send in a list of the names of such groups and the names and addresses of their leaders or officers.

<sup>2</sup>John H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1952), p. 239.

<sup>3</sup>Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1957), pp. 103-104.

<sup>4</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup>C. P. Loomis, et al., *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Loomis and Beegle, p. 19.

Dependence was placed, in the study, on mail questionnaires.<sup>7</sup> The total number of home bureau units or 4-H clubs (the universe) could not be used, it was felt, because of the costs of sending out the required number of questionnaires and of tabulation.<sup>8</sup> Hence, every fifth group on an alphabetized list of all clubs in each county was selected in each county to which questionnaires would be sent. Responses came from the leaders of 33.8 per cent of the 4-H clubs contacted and 67.0 per cent of the home bureau units to which questionnaires were sent. Similarly 94 of 488 FFA chapters active in the state were selected at random and sent questionnaires; 47, or 51 per cent of the leaders, returned filled-in questionnaires. Lists of rural PTA's, women's clubs, subordinate granges, and farmers' unions were secured from the state offices, and questionnaires were sent to all rural PTA's (in towns of under 2,500 and in the open country) and to women's clubs considered by the state office to be rural clubs. Officers of all subordinate granges, farmers' union locals, and farm bureau units in the state were sent questionnaires.

As indicated, county farm advisers (extension agents) were asked to send in lists of local organizations, other than those named above, in which farm people make up a large part of the membership. Responses came from 87 of the 99 advisers. Questionnaires were sent to 216 organizations listed by farm advisers which were thought to fit our definition; 65 of these were community clubs which had no official connection with any social-cultural linkage system.

A total of 2,297 questionnaires was sent out; 948 or 41.3 per cent were returned. The highest percentage return was for home bureau units (67.0) and the smallest for PTA locals (28.9).<sup>9</sup> (See Table 1.)

The respondents to these questionnaires in nine out of ten cases were the officers of the organizations, except for 4-H clubs, in which 97 per cent of the responses came from others, presumably the local adult leaders.

For purposes of the present paper, five hypotheses are presented: (1) most <sup>10</sup> present-day local rural-interest groups are parts of larger social systems, have social-cultural linkages; (2) most rural-interest groups, both common<sup>11</sup> and special are of a size, especially in attendance at

<sup>7</sup>Made up of 18 main headings, each question having alternate answers, each item of which could be checked, if it applied, with spaces to add other answers. The listed answers were based on those received in two previous studies, in 1930 and 1940.

<sup>8</sup>There are approximately 5,750 home bureau units and 4-H clubs in the state.

<sup>9</sup>The actual number of groups in the universe, as nearly as it can be estimated, was 7,262. The total return from 948 groups was 13 per cent of this total.

<sup>10</sup>By "most" it is meant that at least 50 per cent of the groups possess the attribute in question.

<sup>11</sup>Common-interest groups are those appealing to both sexes, most ages, and several interests. Special-interest groups are those appealing to one sex or one major interest.

*Table 1.* Percentage of questionnaire returns from rural-interest groups in Illinois

Name of group	Questionnaires		% returned
	Mailed	Returned	
Home bureau units	407	273	67.0
Women's clubs	159	58	36.5
4-H clubs	768	260	33.8
Future farmers	94	47	50.0
PTA	450	130	28.9
Community clubs*	65	21	33.8
Granges (subordinate)	103	48	46.6
Farm bureau units	45	26	57.8
Farmers' union locals	55	17	30.9
Miscellaneous†	151	67	44.8
Total	2,297	947	41.3

\*Secured from lists sent in from county agricultural agents. Includes 16 service and businessmen's organizations.

†Includes 4 rural youth groups and 47 others—fair, protection, dairy herd improvement, soil conservation, animal and crop improvement, health improvement associations, grain, livestock, and service co-operatives, sportsman's clubs, fellowships and one-county council.

meetings, to have primary or face-to-face group characteristics; (3) most rural-interest groups retain a considerable degree of policy-determining power; (4) most rural-interest groups operate on the basis of broad as well as narrow purposes or objectives; and (5) values to members as seen by leaders of rural-interest groups are related primarily to socialization, whereas stated objectives relate primarily to giving aid in solving special or technical problems.

#### SOCIAL-CULTURAL LINKAGE

Assuming that the 7,262 rural-interest groups from which the sample of interest groups, as defined above, was drawn is the universe, it is clear that by far the most numerous rural-interest groups have social-cultural linkages. Even if one lumped all "no responses" into the category of non-culturally-linked groups (Table 2), 80 per cent of the common-interest and 84 per cent of the special-interest groups would have social-cultural linkages. This means that more than eight-tenths of the formally organized voluntary-interest groups in rural areas are parts of social systems in which some form of change agent outside the community is operative.

Another interesting aspect shown by Table 2 is that there is a statistically significant difference between common- and special-interest groups

in relation to social-cultural linkage: there are significantly fewer common- than special-interest groups with such relationships. This difference is due primarily to the presence in the sample of the community clubs, most of which are independent local groups.

Table 2. Percentage of rural-interest groups in Illinois reporting type of relationship with overhead organizations

Type of overhead group	All groups (N = 947)	Common-interest (N = 258)	Special-interest (N = 689)	Chi-square
Overhead of which local is a unit	78.0	64.0	83.3	40.1 *
Overhead federation of locals	4.9	15.9	.7	88.4 *
Belong to no overhead group	1.7	5.8	.1	40.8 *
No response	15.4	14.3	15.8	

\* $P > .001$  with one degree of freedom.

#### PRIMARY GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

It may be assumed that an interest group which numbers more than 50 members in attendance at a meeting provides at best only secondary group contacts, and that groups with under 50 and especially those from 15 to 30 in attendance can develop the kind of social relations which characterize primary groups: more or less informal face-to-face contacts can be made, especially if the group meets regularly, that is, at least once a month.

Monthly, semimonthly, or weekly meetings were held by 95 per cent and 97 per cent, respectively, of 947 common- and special-interest groups included in the present study (those which varied from this pattern were a few in the miscellaneous groups, such as fair associations, protective associations, soil conservation associations, county farm bureaus, and co-operatives, most of which had only annual meetings). When groups meet monthly there is the type of interaction, especially among the smaller groups, which characterizes primary groups.<sup>12</sup>

Although there were considerable differences in membership size of common- and special-interest groups (the median size for common-

<sup>12</sup>See Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, "Small Groups" (New York: Knopf, 1955), p. 15. Ch. ii is an excerpt from Cooley in which emphasis is placed on the "we" element, which without question characterizes small groups such as 4-H clubs, home bureau units, and possibly some PTA's. Other studies cited indicate that increasing the size of the group lowers participation in discussion (Helen C. Dawe, "The Influence of Size of Group upon Performance," *Child Development*, V [1934], 295-303); frequency and hours of contact are the best predictors of group intimacy, and as size of group increases the frequency of contact occurrence decreases (P. H. Fischer, "An Analysis of the Primary Group," *Sociometry*, XVI [1953], 272-276), indicating that groups of 35 to 48 or more lose the qualities usually ascribed to primary groups.

interest groups was 81.4; for special-interest groups it was 22.4 members; see Table 3), there was not so much difference in attendance at meetings (the median attendance for common-interest groups was 32.2 and for special-interest groups 16.5 members; half the common and 84 per cent of the special-interest groups had attendances of 30 or fewer).

*Table 3.* Percentage of rural common- and special-interest groups in Illinois with specified membership and attendance

Membership size	Common-interest		Special-interest	
	Membership	Attendance	Membership	Attendance
	( <i>N</i> =220)	( <i>N</i> =189)	( <i>N</i> =659)	( <i>N</i> =580)
Under 15	1.4	15.3	27.5	43.6
16 to 30	12.3	23.8	43.4	41.4
31 to 40	7.7	15.9	12.4	5.0
41 to 50	7.7	12.7	4.2	3.1
51 to 60	6.8	6.3	3.5	.5
61 to 70	5.9	2.6	1.8	1.6
71 to 80	6.8	5.8	.7	1.4
81 to 90	4.1	2.1	.1	1.0
91 to 100	3.6	0.0	.4	.9
Over 100	43.6	15.3	5.8	1.6
Median*	81.4	32.2	22.4	16.5

\*Use of the mean as a measure would be adversely affected by a few groups having memberships of over 100, some of which meet only annually: the mean membership for common-interest groups was 216. This was due to the inclusion of a few county units some of which had memberships of over 1,000. The mean attendance, however, was only 49, which means that by our definition most local groups (not county) were primary in character by reason of the number regularly attending meetings (under 50). The mean membership for all special-interest groups was 58 (including county-wide groups) but the mean attendance was 29.7, making them also primary groups.

Membership in some common-interest groups would place them in the secondary group category but attendance at meetings, it appears, would place most of them in the primary category (especially if about the same members came each time to meetings, which is usually the case). Even so, there is a substantially significant difference in both size and attendance between common- and special-interest groups: the median attendance for common-interest groups was about twice that of special-interest groups.

#### POWER IN POLICY DETERMINATION

In a social system in which the officers of both the target and the change-agent system are elected by the membership, it is assumed that control over who shall be leaders remains in the hands of the members,

as they have the power to elect officers. It cannot be assumed, however, that the power to make decisions for the organization is exercised by the members unless provision is made for discussion and action in regularly held meetings of the members. It may be assumed, however, that in the social system in which election is the means of selection of leaders, sanctions for decisions made by such leaders come as a result of re-election.

The leaders in 81 per cent of the common-interest and 84 per cent of the special-interest groups indicated that policies are made in the organization by discussion and vote of members. Other methods used by more than a third of the common- and about a fifth of the special-interest groups were discussion and vote by elected delegates, discussion and vote by the board, and discussion and decision of officers (Table 4). For some, evidently, more than one method of policy determination was used.

These leaders were asked, also, the most effective method of policy determination. Here again the method of discussion and vote by members was said to be the most effective method used by 82 per cent of the common- and 90 per cent of the special-interest group leaders. Only a little over a fifth of the common- and 12 per cent of the special-interest group leaders indicated the other methods listed as most effective.

Table 4. Percentage\* of rural-interest groups in Illinois using various methods for policy determination, and the most effective methods

How policies are made	Common- interest	Special- interest	Chi- square
	(N = 258)	(N = 689)	
Discussion and vote:			
By members	81.4	83.7	.60
By elected delegates	8.5	3.2	11.96 †
By the board	17.1	8.3	14.11 †
Discussion and decision by officers	9.7	7.8	.62
<i>Most effective method</i>	(N = 147)	(N = 407)	
Discussion and vote:			
By members	82.3	90.2	5.56 †
By elected delegates	2.7	2.2	.43
By the board	13.6	4.4	14.58 †
Discussion and decision by officers	5.4	5.2	

\*Difference between common- and special-interest group percentages are significant:  $P > .02$  with one degree of freedom as indicated. Percentages add up to more than 100 because some groups reported more than one method.

† $P > .02$  with one degree of freedom.



One may question the sincerity of leaders of interest groups when they state that the most effective method for policy making in their particular organization is discussion and vote by the members. Yet one is inclined to give considerable credence to the results obtained from this study in view of the fact that leaders of 95 and 97 per cent, respectively, of the common- and special-interest groups included in the study stated that they had regular monthly, semi-monthly, or weekly meetings, and that the median attendance at meetings was 32.0 and 16.5 members. It would seem that meetings were held often enough and that attendance of members was small enough so that discussion and vote on policy would not be too difficult. If this is the case, then these types of target systems can be said to fit in well with the democratic philosophy which places power of decision making for the system in the hands of the members.

#### COMMON- COMPARED WITH SPECIAL-INTEREST AIMS

It would seem that interest groups, by definition, are organized to serve some particular interest of some special group. But when leaders of interest groups looked over the last of purposes in the questionnaire most of them evidently realized that their groups were organized to serve more than one purpose. As can be seen in Table 5, leaders of 75 per cent or more of both the common- and special-interest groups listed two purposes, namely, "improve community life, co-operation, or intergroup relations" and "serve the interests of youth." The second named aim might be said to be somewhat specialized: serving the interests of a special age group—the youth. But the first is a broad concern—community improvement. More than two-thirds of every type of group listed in Table 5 checked this item in the questionnaire. This naturally raises the question as to what these leaders had in mind when they indicated that one of their aims was to improve community life, co-operation, or intergroup relations. The answer can only be given by making additional inquiries beyond the scope of the present study.

Of importance is the fact that the big differences in the purposes of interest groups, such as those included in the present study, are not in the more generalized purposes; the differences are in the specialized purposes. For example, leaders of the largest percentage of parent-teacher associations checked the item "improve school and aid in school improvement." Leaders of all farm bureau units listed as one of their aims "provide education for farm improvement." Leaders of 100 per cent of the farmers' union checked "improve economic conditions of farmers through buying and selling." Unlike these two types of farmers' organizations, leaders of the highest percentage of granges (97.9 per cent) listed "provide education and recreation" with 94 per cent checking "improve community life" and 77 per cent "provide education for

Table 5. Percentage of rural-interest groups in Illinois indicating the groups' specified purposes as reported by leaders

Type of group (N)	Rank according to size of percentage for all groups*										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Common-interest (258)†	78.3	75.6	57.4	36.4	52.3	69.8	42.2	33.7	18.2	25.2	15.9
Parent-teachers (130)	68.5	74.6	37.7	21.5	61.5	92.3	28.5	3.1	5.4	.8	7.7
Community club (21)	85.7	52.4	81.0	9.5	23.8	42.9	42.9	14.3	0.0	4.8	9.5
Grange (48)	93.8	87.5	97.9	79.2	60.4	60.4	81.3	77.1	52.1	54.2	43.8
Farm bureau (26)‡	80.8	65.4	53.8	61.5	30.8	26.9	23.1	100.0	26.9	73.1	7.7
Farmer's union (17)	88.2	82.4	70.6	58.8	35.3	52.9	41.2	94.1	41.2	100.0	23.5
Special-interest (689)‡	76.6	74.7	65.9	73.6	62.8	25.5	35.0	34.8	32.5	17.9	13.5
Home bureau (273)	84.2	71.8	63.0	95.2	78.4	30.0	36.3	22.7	48.4	9.9	11.4
Women's club (58)	89.7	46.6	63.8	50.0	46.6	41.4	75.9	3.4	12.1	1.7	13.8
4-H club (260)	70.8	91.9	74.2	65.8	63.1	10.8	23.1	41.9	26.5	13.8	14.2
Future farmers (47)	91.5	89.4	87.2	83.0	44.7	78.7	63.8	91.5	25.5	76.6	25.5
All groups (947)	77.1	75.0	63.6	63.5	60.0	37.6	37.0	34.5	28.6	19.9	14.1

\*Numbers refer to statements of value:

1. Improve community life, co-operation, or intergroup relations.
2. Serve the interests of youth.
3. Provide entertainment and recreation.
4. Provide education for home improvement.
5. Improve health or aid in health improvement.
6. Improve school or aid in school improvement.
7. Support welfare activities in the community.
8. Provide education for farm improvement.
9. Improve economic conditions for homemakers.
10. Improve economic conditions for farmers—co-operation.
11. Provide religious improvement.

†Includes 16 service clubs.

‡Includes 4 rural youth and 47 other organizations: agricultural fair associations, protective associations, fellowships, dairy herd improvement associations, soil conservation associations, safety and fire protection associations, breeders and crop associations, health associations, sportsmen's clubs, and extension councils.

farm improvement."<sup>13</sup> Community club leaders in highest percentages checked "improve community life" and "provide entertainment and recreation," with only 14 per cent listing "provide education for farm improvement." It would seem that the types listed as common-interest groups were indeed serving common as well as special interests, especially community clubs, parent-teacher associations, and granges.

The particular concern of special-interest groups, as already defined, is clearly indicated by the percentages listing various aims for the group: 95 per cent of the home bureau units listed "provide education for home improvement"; 92 per cent of the 4-H clubs and 89 per cent of the future farmer chapters listed "serve interests of youth." If women's clubs had a special interest it was "support welfare activities in the community," but a considerably higher percentage of the leaders listed "community co-operation" (89.7 per cent) than any other purpose.

A division of special-interest groups on the basis of aims or purposes, it would seem, is not entirely satisfactory, for many serving special groups, such as women only, also serve common interests, such as community improvement, recreation, and schools. Although some groups, such as 4-H clubs, home bureau units, or future farmers, are set up to serve special interests, most of them also serve common interests, such as community development. It would seem that much more attention needs to be given, by change agents and systems, to the possibility of co-ordination of efforts among these groups on such aims as improving community life and providing for better schools, better health, or improved welfare conditions in the community.

#### ELEMENTS OF VALUE TO MEMBERS

If interest groups center their aims on common concerns such as community improvement as well as on aiding members solve technical or special problems, these aims should be reflected in the ways in which leaders feel these groups are of greatest value to members. We have seen that stated objectives do not relate exclusively to giving aid in solving special or technical problems of members; most interest groups of all types also emphasize broader common concerns. We will now see how these have been translated into values to members as seen through the eyes of their leaders.

The one statement checked by leaders of more than 70 per cent of the groups, except granges, farm bureaus, and farmers' unions, was "provided opportunity to work with people." (See Table 6.) It is

<sup>13</sup>This might be expected of subordinate grange leaders, for their groups are much like the earlier farmers' neighborhood or community clubs in their makeup and programs. They appeal to all members of the family and stress entertainment, recreation, and community improvement projects in their meetings. See Donald S. Stroetzel, *The Contest Everybody Wins* (Chicago: Sears Roebuck Foundation and the National Grange Community Service Contest, 1958).

Table 6. Percentage of rural-interest groups in Illinois indicating the groups' specific values to members as reported by leaders

Type of group (N)	Rank according to size of percentage for all groups*										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Common-interest (230)†	71.3	59.6	72.6	31.3	16.1	23.0	29.1	44.8	32.6	23.0	49.6
Parent-teachers (111)	73.0	59.5	68.5	27.0	5.4	26.1	13.5	36.9	35.1	.9	80.2
Community club (22)	76.2	42.9	90.5	19.0	9.5	4.8	9.5	23.8	23.8	4.8	19.0
Grange (48)	68.7	62.5	75.0	43.7	35.4	25.0	56.2	52.1	41.7	43.7	20.8
Farm bureau (26)	57.7	50.0	50.0	15.4	30.8	19.2	38.5	61.5	7.7	69.2	15.4
Farmers' Union (17)	52.9	58.8	47.1	35.3	11.8	11.8	47.1	64.7	29.4	70.6	5.9
Special-interest (689)‡	77.4	77.1	48.6	53.8	57.6	51.7	43.4	35.8	38.9	27.3	10.6
Home bureau (273)	81.3	82.4	47.3	44.0	91.6	75.8	47.3	33.3	33.0	12.5	12.8
Women's club (58)	77.6	62.1	74.0	36.2	29.3	36.2	17.2	34.5	41.4	1.7	22.4
4-H club (260)	80.8	84.2	42.3	71.9	46.5	44.6	44.6	40.0	46.5	34.2	3.5
Future farmers (47)	87.2	91.5	78.7	76.6	12.8	17.0	72.3	57.4	57.4	80.9	27.7
All groups	73.6	70.5	53.0	46.8	45.8	43.2	38.6	37.0	36.2	25.4	19.7

\*Numbers refer to statements of value:

1. Gave opportunities to work with people.
2. Developed leadership ability of members.
3. Developed community service and co-operation.
4. Developed personal character of members.
5. Aided members in solving homemaking problems.

†See Table 5, note †.

‡See Table 5, note ‡.

6. Aided members in solving health problems.

7. Taught members to appreciate the value of rural life.

8. Provided a means for members to have a voice in policy making.

9. Discovered and developed local talent.

10. Aided members in solving farming problems.

11. Improved school conditions through adult participation.

of almost equal substantive significance that the leaders of three-fifths of the common- and 77 per cent of the special-interest groups checked "developed leadership ability of members." Both are important in the socialization process, the process of relating the person to society.<sup>14</sup> A third value, listed by leaders of 73 per cent of common- but only 49 per cent of the special-interest groups, was "developed community service and co-operation."

Developing personal character of members may also be looked upon as an element in the socialization process. Leaders of 72 per cent of the 4-H clubs and 77 per cent of the future farmer groups checked this as of greatest value to members. Closely related to this value is the discovery and development of local talent; leaders of a third or more of all groups except community clubs, farm bureaus, and farmers' unions checked this item.

Special service to members related to the special purpose for which the group was organized: 92 per cent of the home bureau units aided members in solving homemaking problems; 61 per cent of the farm bureaus and 65 per cent of the farmers' unions aid members in solving farming problems; 81 per cent of the 4-H clubs aided in farming or homemaking problems; and 81 per cent of the future farmers aided in solving farming problems. But for most groups other values were also important: "taught members to appreciate the value of rural living" was checked by leaders of 72 per cent of the future farmer chapters, 56 per cent of the granges, 47 per cent of the farmers' unions, 47 per cent of the home bureau units, and 45 per cent of the 4-H clubs.

Local control of policy determination through providing a means for members to have a voice in policy making was of value to members: leaders of more than a third of all groups except community clubs (a social system which by virtue of the type of nonlinked organization would naturally be run by its members) checked "voice in policy making" as a value.

Although health and school improvement through adult participation are of common concern, leaders of home bureau units (76 per cent) and 4-H clubs (45 per cent) were the only ones in significant numbers checking health values; and leaders of parent-teacher associations (80 per cent) were the only ones in relatively large proportions looking upon adult participation in school improvement as of most value to members.

When leaders of interest groups were challenged to say in what way the organization is of most value to members, elements in the socialization process and development of community service were values placed first by nearly three-fourths of all of them. This is significant for change agents: even for highly specialized groups, getting along with people,

<sup>14</sup>Alfred M. Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1955), ch. ix.

developing character, appreciation of the values of rural life, and developing leadership abilities should be given equal emphasis with solving personal or special problems relating to improved practices.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The formally organized interest groups in rural society for the most part have social-cultural linkages. The only exceptions are the few remaining community clubs, most of which operate independent of overhead organizations.

Most rural-interest groups are, in the numbers regularly attending meetings, of a primary character. Common-interest groups, made up of a variety of ages and both sexes, have about twice the median attendance, generally, of special-interest groups which appeal to special age groups or one sex. Yet attendance size of both groups makes possible fairly regular and frequent face-to-face contacts.

The leaders of eight in ten interest groups reported that policies are made in these groups through member discussion and vote. An even higher per cent stated that this was the most effective method for determining policies. For most of these groups it would seem that this was a feasible method, for the attendance at meetings was small enough to make possible discussion and voting on issues.

Interest groups, it may be assumed, are formed to satisfy special needs of a particular group. Yet most rural-interest groups in this study have as their aims not only to serve some special interest but also to serve some common interest such as "improve community life." Interest groups are different in the special aims they serve: some serve youth, others home improvement, others schools, others improved farming interests. But they are alike in that seven out of ten also have as their aims to serve broader community needs.

Aims of both types are translated into values most important to members. If one assumes that improvement of community life calls for a higher degree of socialization, then these broader aims are realized in such values as "provided the opportunity to work with others," "developed leadership ability of members," and "developed community service and co-operation." These values were reported by almost as many leaders of different types of groups as were such specialized values as "solving homemaking problems," "aiding in farming problems," and "helping the school."

Any social theory or hypothesis regarding rural life must recognize the presence of interest groups. Such a theory would include reference to the linked character of most of the local groups or target systems with overhead or change-agent systems. The target systems in rural life provide human associations which are essentially primary in nature in which, therefore, are possible the kinds of interactions which can influence policy determination, for attendance in regular meetings is of a size to provide face-to-face relationships.



We know, of course, that not all interest groups in rural society have the types of social-cultural linkages that provide for effective primary association of members, and in these, it may be assumed, policy making becomes somewhat of a change-agent function. This is without doubt the case of farmers' organizations and government-sponsored systems which operate with the county or some similar unit as the basic unit of organization. In them policy determination is still presumably carried on in primary groups, but these groups are the boards of directors and executive committees which take over the policy-making function.

It would seem that if interest groups in rural society are not only to function as a means through which members may have a part in policy making but also to provide for socialization, the social-cultural linkage system must operate on the basis of local groups as the target systems, local groups which function in and can contribute to the community and its improvement. If this is to come about, the change-agent elements of various types of social-culturally linked systems must recognize the need and use means for intergroup co-operation on the community level.

JOSEPH LOPREATO

## Social Classes in an Italian Farm Village

A contribution is made to the growing literature on cross-cultural studies of social stratification by an empirical study of the stratification system in an Italian rural community. The findings indicate that similar methods and techniques used for American and Italian societies reveal stratification systems common to both societies.

The author is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts.\*

AMERICAN sociologists have done a great deal of research on social stratification. Their activity has been accompanied by considerable debate about such basic issues as the type of techniques used and the problem of conceptually and empirically distinguishing the various types of stratification. There is reason to believe that the issues now being disputed may be more effectively resolved if we add empirical studies of stratification in other societies to corresponding studies made in this society.<sup>1</sup> A cross-cultural approach to the study of stratification (possible when numerous social systems in various other societies have been comparably stratified) may reveal "universal regularities" which "transcend the methods" and the particular conceptualizations. The present paper seeks to make a contribution toward this goal by present-

\*This paper is based on a part of the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Effects of Emigration on the Social Structure of a Calabrian Community," Yale University, 1960. The preparation of the present paper was supported by a Faculty Research Grant from the University of Massachusetts Research Council, which is gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>1</sup>Rosenfeld took a similar position in her paper on the collective settlements in Israel. Deploring the impasse reached on the polemics of "critical articles," Rosenfeld suggested that "a study of social stratification in social systems different from ours while yet belonging to the broad heritage of Western culture, may prove to be more provocative and contribute more to a clarification of some confused issues than another in the long series of theoretical articles." See Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a 'Classless' Society," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 766.

ing data on the social stratification system of a rural community of south Italy and the techniques used for its derivation.

### THE COMMUNITY

Stefanaconi, the community in question, is a farm village with about 2,300 inhabitants and a total land possession of roughly 2,000 hectares, of which a little more than half is tillable. It is located in the Catanzaro province of Calabria, approximately 230 rail miles south of Naples and several miles east of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The village is approximately 975 feet above sea level, and its territory spreads itself out in a series of now steep, now gently sloping hills. The terrain is mostly argilliferous and very likely to have landslides.

The average temperatures are around 45° F. in the winter, 58° F. in the spring, 78° F. in the summer, and 72° F. in the autumn. Low temperatures occur generally in January and February, and they hardly ever sink below the freezing level; high temperatures occur in July and August and sometimes surpass 100° F.

Precipitation is very uneven. The rain season is roughly between November and February, and in some years rain is completely lacking between April and September. In 1956 the total precipitation for the Tyrrhenian side of Calabria was about 27.4 inches. This was divided approximately as follows: winter—11.2 inches; spring—2.6 inches; summer—1.7 inches; autumn—11.9 inches.<sup>2</sup> The heat in the summer is generally dry and sustained; in the winter the high precipitation and the low impermeability of the terrain produce high humidity.

Close to 90 per cent of Stefanacnians are engaged directly in, or are dependent upon, agriculture. Those remaining are artisans, professional people, shopkeepers, occasional laborers, and "loafers."

There is no industry to speak of in Stefanacni. A flour mill, which serves the local people and a few others beyond, is a family business and employs two "errand boys," or occasional laborers. In addition there are two olive presses. One of them belongs to a well-to-do farm family which has also produced several professionals. This family also owns two threshing machines. Although both types of business are seasonal, together they employ around a dozen persons, of whom about one-half are local citizens.

The other olive press is a result of a recent co-operative undertaking mostly by a dozen emigrants returned from the United States of America. The "Co-operative" also has a threshing machine. Together the two provide work for about a dozen local persons. The Co-operative also buys olives on the plants and is responsible for the picking. A few additional local laborers are seasonally employed in this activity.

Four types of relationship to the land exist for the peasant: (1) private ownership, (2) *mezzadria* (the classical Italian "50 per cent con-

<sup>2</sup>*Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1957, p. 14, Table 14.*

tract"), (3) rental for money or kind, and (4) day labor. Of these, the second and third are by far the most common. Typically the peasant works a couple of tracts of land of three or four acres each. These are often several miles apart from each other and away from the village. Thus the peasant spends much time in walking to and from his land.

The land is among the least fertile in the area; it is dry, argilliferous, and very apt to have erosion and landslides. Modern technology is mostly absent, in part because of the steepness of the terrain, in part because of the peasant's practice of interspersing his land with fruit trees of various kinds, and in part also because of his poverty; thus the hoe and the dibble stick are still very important farm implements in Stefanacani. Furthermore, the peasant cultivates his land in wheat and corn, which are not at all well adapted to the type of terrain. As a result he often harvests little more than what he sows. If he gets five or six bushels for each one sown he leans toward satisfaction. Nonetheless, the peasant works his land intensively, and in addition to wheat and corn he sometimes also produces a variety of vegetables and fruits such as olives, grapes, and figs. Both green and chemical fertilizers are now becoming popular, and this may result in the needed improvement of the land.

By and large, the peasant's produce forms the basis for self-sustenance rather than commercial undertakings. Beside the stinginess of the land, he sometimes must yield to the land owners quantities of his produce which often leave his family with a precarious food supply. It is not infrequent that in mid-spring, just before the harvest of the wheat, the peasant incurs debts with land owners and shopkeepers which tend to keep him in continuous debt and anxiety.

In 1950 the Italian government enacted legislation which provided for land expropriation in certain areas where there were concentrations of large holdings,<sup>3</sup> but of the approximately half million hectares expropriated and transferred in south Italy none has directly involved Stefanacani. The repercussions, however, may have been felt. For instance, a few years ago some land owners were especially eager to sell their land, perhaps because they feared that they might eventually have to yield it to the state for unsuitable prices. The result was that many previously landless peasants became owners of small tracts of land. This was made possible mostly by the remittances of a number of peasants who in the post-World-War-II period migrated to the United States of America, Australia, or Canada. This redistribution of landed property, coupled with a high evaluation of land, has injected considerable fluidity in the local stratification system.

#### STRATIFICATION PROCEDURES

The basic stratification procedure is the "judges' technique," based essentially on the technique developed by Hollingshead in Elmtown.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For a brief statement about this topic see G. Gaetani D'Aragona, "A Critical Evaluation of Land Reform in Italy," *Land Economics*, XXX (1954), 12-19.

<sup>4</sup>August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: Wiley, 1949), ch. ii.

A sample of 120 female heads of families were asked (1) to give their opinion as to the number of "social classes or *categorie*" existing in the community, (2) to cite several examples of families belonging to each of the classes suggested, and (3) to explain the reasons for the classification of each family mentioned. After a few interviews had been completed, the subjects were advised to think of the saying that *paro para piglia* (equal marries equal) in their attempt to derive the stratification system in the community.<sup>5</sup> Table 1 presents the distribution of subjects by number of classes cited.

Next, when only the 41 schedules with the six-class stratification system were used, it was found that 23 families in the community had been consistently placed in the stratification system by the subjects. This means that when these families were used as reference points there was perfect agreement among those who used them as to where they belonged. These 23 families, hereafter referred to as the "control list," were distributed as follows: three in Class I, two in II, five in III, five in IV, five in V, and three in VI.

Finally, the analysis of placement criteria revealed basic agreement among the subjects. These criteria appeared to fall under five general headings: (1) wealth and possessions, (2) family name, (3) achievement of family head or of children in a given occupation, (4) general behavior of the family (this included family solidarity, hard work, "modern views"), and (5) general importance of the family (this included reputation, prestige, and *rispetto*).

Next, the full name of both husband and wife of each family on the control list was typed on 3- by 5-inch cards. These cards, alphabetically

Table 1. Distribution of subjects by number of classes cited as existing in the community

No. of classes	Subjects
1	9
2	9
3	18
4	12
5	11
6	41
7	3
8	3
Don't know	14
Total	120

<sup>5</sup>The criterion of endogamy-exogamy was suggested to the subjects after the thirty-sixth interview. Whereas only two out of the 36 previous interviewees had given a six-class breakdown, 39 out of the remaining 84, or 46.4 per cent, divided the community into six social classes.

arranged, along with a sheet listing the five major headings of placement criteria were presented to 10 persons who were considered to be well informed, who had not been previously interviewed, and who appeared to be representative of the six classes agreed upon for the community. These ten "judges" were asked to study the control list and the placement criteria and then to state: (1) whether the families in the control list represented a number of different social classes or *categorie*, and (2) whether the families exhausted all classes present in the community. All agreed that the control list in fact represented distinct social classes and, moreover, that these exhausted all the social classes present in the community.

After this point was settled, the judges were asked to look at the list of placement criteria once more and on the basis of them to arrange the control list so as to put "equals with equals." Eight of the 10 judges divided the control list into six classes; one into five classes; and a tenth one into three classes. The high agreement among the judges can be explained in part by the fact that the judges were a select group of well informed persons and mostly, no doubt, by the fact that the judges were confronted both with a specific group of families to classify and with a specific number of cultural characteristics to guide them in their classification. What is more important, however, is that there was almost perfect agreement as to who belonged where between the 41 sample subjects who had stratified the community into six classes and the eight judges who concurred in this stratification. Three of these eight judges disagreed with the 41 sample subjects on only one of the 23 families in the control list; two disagreed on two families; two disagreed on three families; and an eighth one disagreed on four families. One further point of interest is that in no case did any of the eight judges disagree with the 41 sample subjects by more than one class.

The high agreement between the 10 judges and the 41 original subjects as to the number of classes in the community strengthened the author's conviction that a stratification breakdown into six classes was the closest possible to the "real" stratification system of the community. With this conviction, he selected a final group of 22 judges. These judges had not been previously interviewed and were chosen with a view to possibly including a fair representation of the sample on the basis of class position, age, and length of time in the community.

Unlike the previous judges, these 22 were given: (1) a sheet listing the five major headings of placement criteria; (2) a sheet containing the control list distributed by class; and (3) a set of 3- by 5-inch cards representing the 120 families in the sample. The judges were asked to: (1) study the breakdown of the control list, (2) study the placement criteria, (3) state whether or not they agreed with the breakdown of the control list given by the 41 sample subjects, and if so, find for each of the 120 families in the sample "the best possible equal" from the control



list. Nineteen agreed; three disagreed. Of these three, one found five classes; one found three classes; and a third one made no subdivisions, explaining that "we are all equal." To facilitate later computations, these three judges were discounted. Finally, the author, himself a native of the community, acted as a judge, thus bringing the total to twenty.

After the 120 families had been classified by the 20 judges, each family was given a mean score or class. This was done in the following manner: Each of the 20 class evaluations was given a numerical value from one for a Class I evaluation to six for a Class VI evaluation. The values were then added and the sum divided by 20. This quotient was then converted into a class position according to the intervals shown in Table 2, which shows also the class distribution of the sample.

As a test of agreement among the 20 judges, the Kendall coefficient of concordance ( $W$ ) was computed. The resulting value of  $W$  was .854. Chi-square was computed as a test of the significance of  $W$ , and the value obtained was 2,032.52, significant well beyond all expectations.

A tool which permitted the validation of the "judge's technique" was then constructed. After the local judges had placed each of the 120 families in one of the six classes, they were asked to state what kind of family they *would have put* in each class if they had not been given "things to keep in mind." In varying degrees all stated a number of characteristics which they "would have kept in mind" for each of the six classes. Virtually all the judges appeared to be guided by a common set of cultural criteria in placing families in a given class. Of these "common denominators," those which were objective or easily objectifiable were chosen for each of the six classes, and a six-class composite scale was constructed. The emphasis in the scale is mostly on land ownership, but education of family head or children, occupation and skill therein, and residence area are also important.<sup>6</sup>

The next step was to give each sample family a class position according to the composite scale on the basis of information provided by inter-

Table 2. Class distribution of families according to judges' ratings, and intervals used in converting numerical values into class position

Class	Families	Interval
I	3	1.00-1.50
II	4	1.51-2.50
III	25	2.51-3.50
IV	40	3.51-4.50
V	33	4.51-5.50
VI	15	5.51-6.00

<sup>6</sup>See Lopreato, *op. cit.*, Appendix Two.

views. Kendall rank correlation coefficient was then used as a measure of the degree of correlation between the two sets of scores, and this correlation yielded:  $T(\text{tau}) = .76$ ;  $z = 3.4$ ;  $p = .0003$ . The high degree of correlation between the two tools can be surmised from Table 3 where a synoptic distribution of the 120 families by class according to both techniques is presented.

Table 3. Distribution of sample families by class according to judges' technique and composite scale

Class	Judges' technique	Composite scale
I	3	2
II	4	4
III	25	24
IV	40	36
V	33	33
VI	15	21
Total	120	120

### THE CLASS SYSTEM

Stefanaconians are very class-conscious. When asked point-blank about the number of classes in the community, they tend either to name the three conventional occupational estates or to dismiss the question with a "don't know," typically qualified with *abbastanza* (a sufficient number). When, however, they are advised to bear in mind the factor of intermarriage they cut across occupational lines, and close to 50 per cent of them isolate six classes or *categorie*. When, as in the case of selected "judges," they are faced with the task of classifying a specific and select number of local families, while bearing in mind a specific number of placement criteria, then at least 80 per cent of them isolate six classes. The tendency is to divide the population into three main classes: upper, middle, and lower, and then to further subdivide each of these into an upper and a lower section.

*Class I:* At one time or another of the year there are four or five families in Stefanaconi who are thought to have been *signori* (aristocrats) for a long time. There is almost perfect agreement among Stefanaconians about the class position of these families. They are referred to as "the best," "the aristocrats," and accordingly are deferred to by everyone. Characteristically these are the families who live in *palazzi* (palaces), masonry structures consisting of two stories and containing upward of ten rooms.

Class I families are the third-or-fourth-generation descendants of peasant families who early in the nineteenth century came into the posses-

sion of a piece of land. Wealth and family name are the most important determinants of membership in this class. Their first professional forefathers began their careers in Stefanaconi as doctors, priests, or pharmacists, and their occupations have been inherited for two or three generations by their offspring or the offspring of close relatives. An important characteristic of the members of this class is that they do no manual labor.<sup>7</sup> Together with a couple of nobles who never come to Stefanaconi, these own most of the local land; yet they do not work any of it themselves. *Dolce far niente* or "graceful living" appears to be their basic value orientation.

Members of this class never "err" in classifying themselves; furthermore, they perceive a "social chasm" between themselves and the rest of the population. Unlike members of the other classes, among whom interaction and intimacy—whether reciprocal or not—are general and easy, Class I families interact with members of other classes only rarely, and then only on a purely contractual-legal basis. Characteristically they address all others in an informal fashion, while on their part they demand, and generally receive, the utmost deference.

The orientation of Class I families is to the national culture, and they tend to think of themselves as Italians rather than as Stefanaconians or even Calabrians. They have little or no interest in local affairs, and although their prestige is very high and commands deference by the rest of the population, their power must be gauged indirectly by the effects of their control of much of the local land. But this is also disappearing, for a recent and heavy wave of emigration has left much unworked land in Stefanaconi. We might say in conclusion that Class I is a result of the acquisition of land, early in the nineteenth century, by a small number of previously landless peasant families. The industrial-urban development of Italy, however, has been attracting these few families away from Stefanaconi, and a new upper class is arising.

*Class II:* This class is about twice as numerous as the top class. Members are severally referred to as "the rich," "the school teachers," and "the families of so many professional children." In each case their present social position has been *achieved* within the life span of the present family head. The typical members of Class II are aware of the social distance between themselves and Class I members, but they aspire to membership in the higher class and identify with it; consequently, they make an active effort to command the respect that members of the upper class command automatically. Class II members often explain, however, that while they are a "modern and dynamic family," Class I families are but "like a fungus—parasitic, unnecessary, useless."

<sup>7</sup>For a very useful discussion of "the upper class" in another Italian farm village see Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958), ch. iv.

Evidence was found in Stefanaconi which supports Hollingshead's finding in Elmtown that "The class II man focuses his attention upon the aggressive manipulation of economic and political processes. . . ."<sup>8</sup> He views high status in the community in terms of a monopolization of power and authority. "Complete control" seems to be his basic value orientation. This results in fierce competition between members of this class, which in turn gives rise to sharp factionalism in the general population. At present the principal cleavage is along lines defined by a married schoolteacher who is the incumbent mayor, and an unmarried young physician who is the son of a well-to-do peasant who owns some 100 acres of land, an olive press, and two threshing machines. The group supporting the physician is indebted to his family for economic and professional favors; many no doubt also feel that this family will soon be the most powerful in the community, and they now seek to establish their good standing. The group supporting the schoolteacher appears to be reacting mostly against what seems to them to be an obvious attempt on the part of the physician and his family entirely to "dominate the community."

The competition has some definite consequences for the community as a whole. For instance, in their attempt to outdo each other, the leaders of the two factions acquire cultural items from the city such as bathtubs, electric heaters, gas stoves, refrigerators, and automobiles. This then contributes a little to the eventual adoption of these elements by the general population. The preoccupation of the leaders with popularity, of course, adds to the power and importance of their supporters, who now find it easier to approach the former and sometimes get valuable favors from them. Again, the physician's family competes against the "Co-operative" (owned by members of the opposite faction) with the threshing machines and the olive press. This competition results in better service and lower fees for the clients. Finally, and perhaps most important, the mayor is now succeeding in introducing a variety of improvements into the village: an adequate water supply, a new school building, repairs of some country roads, repair of the main road, more considerate service to the people at the town hall, a club with a television set for adults and children alike, and a variety of lesser innovations. These are partly due to current activities of the Italian state, but in part no doubt they are also due to the active interest of the mayor who is roused to action by the competition for popularity and power.

There is some disagreement among Stefanaconians—both judges and sample subjects—in classifying Class II families. This is due both to the social mobility of these and to the factionalism which their struggle for power creates in the general population.

*Class III:* The basic objective differences between this class and the preceding one lie in the greater education of the family heads of the

<sup>8</sup>Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

former, and/or in their larger holdings in landed property. A number of Class III members fail, however, to see any class difference between themselves and the class above, and tend to resent Class II's efforts to "take over the village." The members of this class are characterized as "those who can afford to live well," "the old Americans,"<sup>10</sup> "the artisans," "the well-to-do," "the solid citizens," and "the *massari*."

The development of a *massari* group in Stefanaconi can be traced to the beginning of the last century. At that time a small number among the peasants succeeded in rising above the socioeconomic position of the mass of peasants. These were the small owner operators who originated from contracts of emphyteusis. Gradually they had managed to come into the possession of small parcels of land, and since the small profits of their labors did not have to be turned over to landlords, they invested these in a team of oxen, an oxcart, and often a wooden plough. By local standards these items constituted a considerable amount of capital, which in turn also required the construction on the land of at least a straw barn to protect the animals from the elements and the owners from thieves. This farmstead type of land settlement now made possible a more effective and profitable cultivation of the land. The *massari*, as these peasants came to be called, became an elite group within the peasant estate. Their labor frequently resulted in sufficient wealth to enable them to send one or more sons to the university or to the theological seminary. These were generally selected from those who were slight of body and health and could hardly be depended upon to do work on the land. It was this small group of *massari* that provided the personnel for an even smaller professional estate.

Various other advantages accrued to the small *massari* group. Not only were they able to cultivate their land more effectively both because of their settlement on it and because of their more efficient farm technology, but they were also able to handle more land than usual. For this they had to turn to the absentee land owners, who in turn looked upon the *massari* as expert and efficient cultivators, worthy of their very best land. The *massari* further improved these fertile tracts of land; even today possession or rental of these is a symbol of considerable prestige.

In addition, most *massari* came to be called upon by other peasants to break their land with oxen and plough, and at harvest time they became the local "truckers."

Finally, the *massari*'s sustained presence on their land and the possession of a few animals that this permitted tended to make them experts on plants, animals, the seasons, and many other areas. All these factors have tended to increase both the profits and the prestige of the

<sup>10</sup>Stefanaconi has contributed heavily to the Italian emigration. "The old Americans" are Stefanaconians who several decades ago spent a few years abroad, especially in the United States.

*massari*. They have also resulted in considerable consciousness of kind among the *massari*, in self-pride, and in a tendency to resist changes in traditional class relationships. For instance, *massari* and non-*massari* were compared on the basis of their responses to the following question: "Some people say that some families in Stefanaconi are socially superior to others, and should, therefore, be treated with deference. Do you agree with this?" We shall conceive of the subjects' responses to this question as their degree of acceptance of "the traditional custom of deference." Table 4 shows that the *massari* accept the traditional custom of deference significantly more than the non-*massari*. This finding almost surely reflects the *massari*'s awareness of their "superior social position," at least with respect to the rest of the peasants, and their desire to safeguard this position.

Table 4. Degree of acceptance of the traditional custom of deference by *massari* and non-*massari*

	Yes	Uncertain	No	Total
<i>Massari</i>	11	2	3	16
Non- <i>massari</i>	34	25	45	104
Total	45	27	48	120

$\chi^2 = 7.21$ ; 2 d.f.;  $p < .05$ , using a one-tailed test of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test.

At present Class III families constitute about 21 per cent of the families in the community. They include most shopkeepers and skilled artisans, the few local clerks, most *massari* families, families owning between 16 and 40 acres of land, and several families with one or two children who are university graduates. With the exception of a few *massari* and artisan families who have held a middle-class position for several generations, most Class III families owe their present class position to the conversion of the remittances from emigrant relatives into appropriate social symbols, such as commodious dwellings, landed property, and education of children. Class III members who have been upwardly mobile are oriented towards the top class, but they recognize that they have "a long distance to travel." Some older members hope, however, that a university education will enable their children to achieve a Class I position for themselves. It is perhaps for this reason especially that the mobility efforts of Class II members are resented. They constitute a danger to the future achievement of Class III students. "Education and professionalization" appears to be the basic value orientation in this class.

A number of Class III families are very wealthy by local standards, being worth as much as \$10,000 to \$15,000. Their wealth is in turn a source of considerable power and prestige, for they are frequently the



landlords; they are the families who can offer a "good marriage"; and above all they are the local money lenders.

*Class IV:* The members of the preceding three classes tend to be detailed in their perception of the local class structure. The sample includes 32 such families, or 26.7 per cent of the total. Of these, 25, or 78.1 per cent, perceive at least five classes, and 17, or 53.1 per cent, perceive six classes. Beginning with Class IV the perception of class distinctions becomes less marked. Thus, if we exclude from the computations the 36 interviews done without the use of the factor of inter-marriage, we find that 66.7 per cent of the upper three classes perceived six classes, but only 38.3 per cent of the lower three classes perceived as many.

Class IV consists largely of small land owners (from six to fifteen acres of land) and a few artisan families either without a house of their own or without sufficient skill to be considered "first-degree craftsmen." They are severally referred to as the class of "the new Americans" (post World War II), "those who are a little better than the poor," "those who are almost as important as the old Americans," or "those who are becoming important now."

A large number of Class IV families occupied a Class V position only a decade ago, at which time one or more of their male members emigrated. They are an upwardly mobile group who have experienced a radical change in wealth, possessions, and general style of life within this last decade. Moreover, the probability is high that within the next two decades many of these families will achieve a Class III position, and a few will perhaps even reach a Class II position.

At the present, the families of this class make up the largest group of parvenus. For the first time they are sending their children to the secondary schools—often with a view to eventually sending them on to the university. They have recently built spacious and comfortable new masonry houses. Again, they have purchased the bulk of the land that has been sold in the past decade, so that they now constitute perhaps the largest group of land-owning peasants. Their newly acquired wealth is a symbol of the deepest breach in the traditional system of power relationships that Stefanaconi has ever experienced. No doubt their perception of this change would constitute a fruitful and interesting area of sociopsychological research. Finally, the families of this class are conspicuously adopting "the ways of the city" such as canned foods, modern household appliances, and urban modes of dressing. In many cases their new style of life appears to have "a display of arrogance." Their memory of their recent inferior social status at times seems to evoke excessive boldness, ultradefensive types of behavior, and ultra-conspicuous displays of wealth. A critical informant suggested that "sometimes they behave like the person who having acquired a whole new suit for the first time in his life proceeds to immerse in the muddy

river in order to christen it." The following statement by a member of Class IV lends some support to this view:

We were hungry year in and year out. Particularly around April, when the wheat reserve was invariably exhausted, we practically had to go begging and tip our hat to any shark who was willing to pull us through. When we heard a voice from a radio, while walking on the streets, we wondered what kind of devil there was in that box. Now we thank God that we don't have to worry any more, and to tell the truth, we are making up for what we couldn't have then.

This display of wealth, or as we might say, this attempt to "live down" their previous poverty and humiliation angers many, especially the *massari* (who were rarely in dire economic need and do not now feel the need to "live it down") and previous friends and equals who have experienced less change.

Many Class IV families tend to see but one class above their own. This is due to a number of factors, pre-eminent among them perhaps (1) their own, and the general, heavy emphasis on the variable of money as a criterion of social importance, (2) the marked fluidity of the stratification system, and (3) their positive orientation to the uppermost social stratum. This is to say that our evidence lends support to Merton's suggestion that in a system of stratification which is "under wide dispute," the members of a given stratum are more likely than if the system of stratification were rigid to manifest "anticipatory socialization" toward members of distant upper strata.<sup>10</sup> This, together with their actual, on-going social mobility, also accounts for the fact that the judges disagree most about the class-position of these families.

Class IV is a class in flux, unsettled, and definitely oriented toward the upper classes. In value orientation it does not differ markedly from Class III. We might say perhaps that the orientation toward "education and professionalization" springs forth from an obvious preoccupation with "living down" the recent and uncomfortable past.

*Class V:* About 27.5 per cent of Stefanacani families fall in this class. With few exceptions, this is what we might call "the class of tenants" or petty proprietors owning up to five acres of land. Unlike the members of the class above them, who "live in relative comfort," and the members of Class VI, who are "utterly destitute," the members of this class are thought of, and consider themselves to be, "respectable workers" who "never seem to make enough for the basic family needs."

<sup>10</sup>Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 267-268. However, it may be suggested here that our research indicates a necessary modification in Merton's proposition that "although anticipatory socialization may be functional for the *individual* in an open social system, it is apparently dysfunctional for the solidarity of the *group* or *stratum* to which he belongs" (*ibid.*). It would seem that this proposition is not applicable to those cases in which the class system is "under wide dispute" and the strata are not characterized by consciousness of kind.

Most of them distinguish sharply between themselves and Class VI members, whom they characterize as *vagabondi* ("lazy-do-nothings"), "famished," and in some cases "half-witted" or "morally loose." A number of them have the tendency to divide the population into the three conventional estates of professionals, artisans, and peasants. No distinctions are made among those falling in the last category. One of them put it as follows:

Peasants are all the same; we live in dirt, eat dirt, look like dirt, and are treated like dirt. We have mud in our blood. It makes no difference if some give themselves airs; we are all cousins of the donkeys, even though some are a little richer than others.

The life style of the members of this group is one of severe hardships. The peasant sometimes walks three or four hours a day to attend to his daily tasks which engage him from sunrise to sunset; much time and energy are thus fruitlessly expended. His food supply is a source of constant insecurity, and his diet includes a preponderant amount of beans, wild vegetables, and onions. His house typically consists of one room which he sometimes shares with a family of five or more and a donkey, goat, and/or pig. Finally, his health is poor as he frequently suffers from rheumatism, hernia, and "liver trouble," which includes a variety of ailments of the heart, stomach, and other internal organs. If we had to characterize his value orientation with one word, we might say "despair." The members of this class are the direct descendants of the feudal serfs. If they are no longer in bondage it is also true that they are still far from being in a state of sufficient economic independence and security. This class indeed represents that section of the population that most closely resembles the body of the peasant estate as it existed in the last century. Their prestige in the community is, therefore, very low, though their esteem as a group is very high due to the contrast seen existing between them and members of the bottom class.

*Class VI:* This class constitutes about 12.5 per cent of the population and is generally thought of as a group as "destitute," "very poor," "half-witted," or "lazy-do-nothings." They in turn think of themselves as "poor and unfortunate Christians" and as "honest workers who have been forsaken by God." This is a class of laborers, "errand boys," scavengers, and "loafers." They perform seasonal tasks on farms as farmhands (olive pickers, wheat cutters, etc.), or they assist the village masons or run errands for one or the other of the local shopkeepers. Their livelihood is thus haphazard at best. Frequently they are paid in kind rather than money, and this arrangement keeps them in continuous dependence on others for handouts of flour, beans, fruits, and the like. "Bread for today at any cost," we might say, is their basic value orientation.

A considerable number of Class VI families either live in one-room wooden frames (*baracce*) or in subsidized government apartments. The

latter are of the lowest possible quality and generally consist of one room with a brick-furnace kitchen to be shared by two families and a toilet without running water. Their residence in these apartments contributes to their low status, for it is considered *proprio basso* (very lowly) to "live by charity."

Perhaps because of their almost absolute dependence on the occasional errand or the *giornata* (a day's hire) for their subsistence, the members of this class are the most deferential in the community. For them there is in the village an extravagant number of *dons* and *donnas*, and *professori*. Yet it is the members of this class who more than others recognize two classes alone: "the poor" and "the rich." They frequently explain that "we are all products of the earth." When asked what single factor more than any other makes up for "social importance" in Stefanaconi, their answer almost invariably is "money."

Many Class VI members resent their position at the bottom of the class structure and often engage in genealogical reconstructions. Upwardly mobile families are sometimes singled out by them as cases of those who "only yesterday were our dear friends at dinner time, and now they won't even talk to you."

### CONCLUSIONS

1. The people of Stefanaconi are quick to recognize social differences, and they find it more convenient to cluster these social distinctions into six classes than into any other number. Moreover, there is a very high agreement among them as to "who belongs where," whether they make "total-status" evaluations or use relatively discrete and objective characteristics such as occupation, education, and especially landed property. In this respect Stefanaconi differs very little from various American communities that American students of stratification have studied.

2. Many of the characteristics of the six classes in Stefanaconi are not dissimilar to the characteristics of corresponding classes isolated in American communities. For instance, the upper classes display a greater sensitivity to status differences; the top class occupies the top position by virtue of its "family name"; "the runner ups" are a group of "achievers"; the middle classes are the most fluid and are made up of "solid citizens"; the penultimate class is anxious to be distinguished from the bottom class; the lowest is a class of "destitute," "half-witted," "lazy-do-nothings," and "depraved," frequently resenting the "uppers" whom they tend to classify as one group: "the rich."

3. Money plays a predominant role in the class structure of Stefanaconi. It is the fundamental basis of social position because it commands the appropriate cultural symbols. Above all, it provides for the acquisition of landed property, which is still the fundamental basis of class position in Stefanaconi. The role of money explains the seeming

paradox of the facts that although the stratification system is characterized by high fluidity, there is also high agreement among the rating judges in their classification of the sample subjects. It would seem that the important role which money plays in the class structure results in the ready recognition by the community of those of its members who acquire money and convert it into the appropriate cultural symbols.

4. Formal interviews and other rigorous techniques are feasible and fruitful among Italian peasants.<sup>11</sup> The "judges' technique" in a form very similar to the one used by Hollingshead in Elmtown is also feasible and fruitful for studies of stratification in south Italian rural communities. There is little doubt that the use of a "control list" and a set of specific placement criteria greatly increases both the subjects' sensitivity to class differences and the degree of agreement among them about these differences. Researchers who have found very "continuous"<sup>12</sup> stratification systems may be especially interested in using these techniques in future research, where feasible.

5. The deliberate use of the concept of endogamy as a criterion for class differentiation greatly increases the subjects' sensitivity to class differences. This finding suggests that this technique should also be used more often in studies of stratification.

6. Finally, this study is a contribution to the growing literature on cross-cultural studies of social stratification.

<sup>11</sup>For a contrary view see Leonard W. Moss and Walter H. Thomson, "The Italian Family: Literature and Observation," *Human Organization*, XVIII (1959), 36.

<sup>12</sup>See especially Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 139-144.

LEE G. BURCHINAL

## Correlates of Marital Satisfaction for Rural Married Couples

This study was undertaken to determine whether factors associated with marital satisfaction for urban couples would also be related to marital satisfaction scores for a probability sample of rural and small-town couples. Marital satisfaction mean scores, based on 28 items adapted from the Burgess-Wallin marital success criteria, were obtained from 242 couples and from four wives alone. The Kruskal-Wallis  $H$  test was used to test the significance of the differences among husbands' and wives' mean scores as determined on the basis of classifications with assumed independent variables.

Level of education, educational differences between husbands and wives, age at marriage, present age, length of marriage, family size, and place of residence were unrelated to the husbands' or wives' scores. Significant differences among the husbands' mean scores were found for various levels of husband-wife age differences. Wives' mean scores differed significantly in relation to their husbands' occupational classification. Although only one of the six tests was significant, the husbands and wives who were church members or who attended church frequently had consistently higher mean scores than nonmembers or infrequent church attenders.

The general pattern of homogeneity among the marital satisfaction scores for the present sample in relation to the variables tested raised questions about generalizing the correlates of marital satisfaction based on urban couples to rural couples.

The author is an associate professor in the Department of Economics and Sociology at Iowa State University of Science and Technology.\*

ONE of the chief criticisms of the continuing search for correlates of marital satisfaction is that the samples employed in these investigations are based on urban, white, middle-class respondents.<sup>1</sup> The design upon

\*Published as Journal Paper No. J-3976 of the Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station, Ames, Project Numbers 1171 and 1370. Acknowledgment is due Mrs. Leone Kell of the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Ruth Hoeftin of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, and Helen Dawe of the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station for their collaboration in this regional research project.

<sup>1</sup>Reuben Hill, *The Family* (New York: Dryden, 1951), p. 353.



which the present study was based avoided this limitation. Data presented in this paper describe the relationships among nine factors and marital satisfaction scores for a probability sample of midwestern rural and small-town husbands and wives. The sample and methodology are described elsewhere in detail.<sup>2</sup> Marital satisfaction scores were based upon 28 items adapted from the Burgess and Wallin marriage success indexes and scored by their weights.<sup>3</sup> The possible range of scores was from 1 to 149 with higher scores indicating greater marital satisfaction. Home interviews were used to obtain the husbands' and wives' answers to this questionnaire.

Ordinarily, when the significance of the difference among three or more means is tested, analysis of variance is considered as the appropriate method of analysis. Unfortunately, there are few social research applications of the *F* test where one or more of the assumptions are not violated. A method has been reported by Kruskal and Wallis, the *H* test, which permits the researcher to perform an over-all test of significance among three or more means, but which does not require meeting the assumptions of the *F* test.<sup>4</sup> This method of analysis was used in the present study to test the differences among the husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction scores as classified by the independent social variables.

### THE FINDINGS

Tests of the husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction mean scores are organized into three categories: (1) scores relative to indices assumed to be indicative of social status level; (2) scores relative to several indices of husband and wife homogeneity; and (3) scores relative to several social and personal characteristics of the couples and their families. Tables are used only where significant or near-significant results were observed. The 5 per cent level is used as the criterion of significance.

*Social status variables:* For the purposes of this investigation, the formal education of the husbands and wives and the occupations of the husbands were taken as separate indices of the social status levels of the couples. A positive relationship was expected: that is, higher mean

<sup>2</sup>Lee G. Burchinal, Glenn R. Hawkes, and Bruce Gardner, "The Relationship between Parental Acceptance and Adjustment of Children," *Child Development*, XXVIII (1957), 65-77.

<sup>3</sup>Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (Chicago: Lippincott, 1953), pp. 485-502.

<sup>4</sup>William H. Kruskal and W. Allen Wallis, "The Use of Ranks in One-Criterion Variance Analysis," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLVII (1952), 583-621. In contrast to the *F* test, only very general assumptions about the kinds of distributions from which the observations come are required for the *H* test. The assumptions made by Kruskal and Wallis are that "the observations are all independent, that all those within a given sample come from a single population, and that the *C* populations are of approximately the same form" (p. 585).

scores were expected to occur among husbands and wives with higher educational levels. Husband and wife marital satisfaction mean scores, as classified by several educational levels, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Educational levels and mean marital satisfaction scores of husbands and wives

Years of education	Husbands		Wives	
	N	M	N	M
9 or fewer	84	115.1	44	119.3
10-11	29	119.9	52	115.5
12	76	117.5	85	115.3
13-15	25	115.8	52	120.0
16 or over	28	119.4	13	115.5
Total	242	117.0	246	117.2
	$H=1.434$		$H=6.572$	
	$.80 < P < .90$		$.10 < P < .20$	
			$H=6.396$	
			$.05 < P < .10$	

The  $H$  values for the husbands' mean scores, interpreted with C-1 or four degrees of freedom in the  $X^2$  table, showed that the differences among the four means were clearly within the limits of sampling variation. The differences among the wives' mean scores approached the 5 per cent level of significance when the two highest educational levels were combined. The curvilinear nature of the wives' mean scores, however, does not permit any inferences beyond the conjectural level concerning the relationship of education with marital satisfaction.

Since a rural and small-town population was studied, only the four-fold occupational classification given in Table 2 could be used.

The highest mean scores were made by the husbands whose occupations were classified into the extreme groups, while lowest and similar means were found for the middle two categories. The mean differences, however, were nonsignificant. Wives' scores showed a direct decrease in relation to the probable prestige value and income-producing level of their husbands' occupations. The differences among the wives' scores for this classification were significant at the 5 per cent level and in the expected direction.

*Homogamous variables:* The consensus emerging from research on correlates of marital satisfaction is that homogamous social characteristics are positively related to marital satisfaction. Two sets of data from the present investigation, the ages and the educational levels of the husbands and wives, were utilized to test this hypothesis. Mean scores for husbands and wives by age difference categories are given in Table 3.

Table 2. Occupations of husbands and mean marital satisfaction scores of husbands and wives

Occupation of husband	Husbands		Wives	
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>
Semiprofessional and business	47	120.9	47	124.3
Clerical, skilled, semiskilled workers	84	114.6	86	116.2
Farmers	69	115.6	70	116.3
Unskilled workers	42	119.6	43	112.3
Total	242	117.0	246	117.2
	$H = 5.038$		$H = 9.060$	
	$.10 < P < .20$		$P < .05$	

Table 3. Age differences of husbands and wives and their mean marital satisfaction scores

Age differences	Husbands		Wives	
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>
Less than 1 year difference	23	108.4	24	120.2
Husband older—1 or 2 years	57	120.3	57	117.8
Husband older—3 or 4 years	49	117.2	50	118.3
Husband older—5 or 6 years	34	113.5	35	115.9
Husband older—7 to 27 years	36	121.5	37	116.7
Wife older—1 to 7 years	43	115.9	43	114.3
Total	242	117.0	246	117.2
	$H = 13.399$		$H = 2.938$	
	$P < .02$		$.70 < P < .80$	

The differences among the husbands' scores were significant in relation to husband-wife age differences ( $P < .02$ ), but the irregularity of the ranking of the means suggests that little substantive significance can be derived from this result. The  $P$  value for the reliability of the mean differences among the wives' mean scores ( $.70 < P < .80$ ) clearly indicated that the apparent differences were probably the result of random variation.

Husband-wife differences in educational attainment did not appear to be related to the measured marital satisfaction of husbands or wives.

Differences among the mean scores of each set of spouses were clearly within the limits of sample variation:  $.30 < P < .50$  in each case.

*Other personal and social variables:* Practically all the reported studies on the correlates of marital satisfaction agree that youthfulness at marriage is predictive of poorer adjustment in marriage. Analyses of the husbands' and wives' scores by their ages at the time of marriage, less than 20, 20 to 24, 25 to 29, and for husbands only, 30 and over, produced nonsignificant results for each category of spouses. As expected, lowest scores were made by the husbands and wives who were married before they were 20 years of age, 110.5 and 115.4, respectively. Wives' scores showed a direct increase with an increase in age at marriage, to 117.1 and 120.0 for the two older age categories, but the mean differences were not statistically significant:  $.30 < P < .50$ . While the differences among the mean scores for the husbands approached significance ( $.05 < P < .10$ ), the trend of mean differences was not consistent. Men between 25 and 29 years of age at the time of marriage had a lower mean score, 114.8 than the husbands in either adjacent category, 118.3 for men married between the ages 20 to 24 and 120.8 for men married at the age of 30 or older.

For both husbands and wives, nonsignificant differences were found for mean score comparisons based upon classifications for length of marriage, age at the time of the study, size of family of procreation, or place of residence defined as rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, or small-town.

Differences among the husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction scores as classified by the church membership status and frequency of church attendance have been reported elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

### DISCUSSION

Anyone who has followed the search for correlates of marital satisfaction will agree "that factors asserted to be most highly associated with success in marriage are unconfirmed for the most part by more than 2 or 3 studies and are questioned by other studies."<sup>6</sup>

Since only mixed results have been obtained previously for the relation of age or educational differences of couples, lengths of their marriages, or sizes of their families to their marital satisfaction scores, no further comment will be made for results based on these factors.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Lee G. Burchinal, "Marital Satisfaction and Religious Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), 306-310.

<sup>6</sup>Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

<sup>7</sup>Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939); Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938); Lewis M. Terman and Melita H. Oden, *The Gifted Child Grows Up* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947); Harvey J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage* (New York: Holt, 1951); Georg Karlsson, *Adaptability and Communication in Marriage* (Uppsala: Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1951); and Burgess and Wallin, *op. cit.*

With the exception of the age differences in relation to the husbands' scores, none of these results was significant for the present sample of couples. Several factors, however, have been found to be related consistently to marital happiness scores of white, urban, or predominately middle-class couples. These are educational level, age at marriage, and the occupation of the husband at the time of marriage and during the marriage.

Since the bulk of these data comes from urban samples, the question arises: "How well can these results be generalized to rural couples?" Contrary to the findings of Burgess and Cottrell, Terman, Locke, or Burgess and Wallin, data from this study indicate that for older married couples level of education shows little relation to either the husbands' or wives' marital satisfaction scores. In an *ad hoc* perspective, this may suggest that educational achievement has had different meanings in urban and rural environments. The Burgess-Cottrell, Terman, and Burgess-Wallin studies were highly biased in the direction of highly educated persons. In those instances, education was undoubtedly a highly selective factor. For rural populations of several decades ago, when many of the respondents in this sample were in school, educational attainment was not stressed as much as it would have been in the then current urban scene or as it is today. If such was the case, the educational attainment of the husbands and wives in this sample was not a highly differentiating characteristic among rural young persons. Hence, it might not be surprising to find that marital satisfaction scores of the couples did not significantly differ in respect to educational levels.

The inverse relation of the wives' marital satisfaction scores with the classification based on their husbands' occupations was consistent with data obtained from urban samples in the major marriage happiness studies or from the more specialized studies of Williamson, or Roth and Peck. The results of the studies of divorce among various occupational levels by Goode, Kephart, Monahan, and Weeks are consistent and point to greater strain among families of lower socioeconomic status.<sup>8</sup> This finding, however, did not occur for the husbands in the sample. The unexpected pattern of mean scores observed for

<sup>8</sup>Robert C. Williamson, "Socio-economic Factors and Marital Adjustment in an Urban Setting," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 213-216; J. Roth and R. F. Peck, "Social Class Mobility and Social Mobility Factors Related to Marital Adjustment," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 478-487; William J. Goode, "Economic Factors and Marital Stability," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 802-812; William M. Kephart, "Occupational Level and Marital Disruption," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1955), 456-465; Thomas P. Monahan, "Divorce by Occupational Level," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVII (1955), 322-324; and H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupations," *Social Forces*, XXI (1943), 334-337. See also: William J. Goode, *After Divorce* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), pp. 43-68.

the husbands in relation to their occupational levels points to the need for more research on marital relations for random samples of the nonurban segment of our population. The present findings suggest that marital satisfaction and husbands' occupational roles are linked in different ways for rural and small-town husbands and wives.

Youthful age at marriage has been almost universally heralded as a predictor of possible marital difficulty. The data from this study tended to support this contention, but the mean differences were not sufficiently reliable to meet the 5 per cent statistical criterion. This suggests that youthful age at marriage probably has not had the same predictive value in the rural segment of our society as in the urban segment because of personal characteristics of the couples, the impact of social structural variables in the environments, or the interaction of these sets of variables. However, to the extent that current rural conditions tend to approach more closely urban conditions, youthful age at marriage with all its social, economic, intrafamily, and interfamily problems will probably assume added significance for prediction of marital satisfaction.

With respect to the factors tested, the couples displayed almost uniform homogeneity in terms of statistical criteria. This indicates that caution must be exercised before generalizing the results of earlier studies based on primarily urban samples to descriptions of correlates of marital satisfaction for rural families.

#### SUMMARY

Marital satisfaction scores, based on 28 items taken from the Burgess-Wallin marital success criterion, were obtained from 242 husbands and wives and from four wives alone. The *H* test reported by Kruskal and Wallis was used to test the significance of the differences among the husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction mean scores as determined on the basis of classification with the following independent variables, level of education, educational and age differences between husbands and wives, age at marriage, present age, length of marriage, size of family, occupation of the husband, and place of residence. Significant differences among the husbands' mean scores were found in relation to husband-wife age differences, but no consistent pattern of difference was observed. Wives' mean scores differed significantly in relation to their husbands' occupations. A direct relation was observed between the wives' mean scores and the prestige levels of their husbands' occupations. All other results were nonsignificant.

The results of this study were compared with findings from previous investigations of factors associated with satisfaction in marriage. Discrepancies in results among these investigations were interpreted as a function of sample differences, differences between rural and urban segments of the population, and differences in methods of analysis.



The almost uniform pattern of homogeneity among the marital satisfaction scores in relation to the variables tested indicates that generalizations based on the results of research on the correlates of marital satisfaction for urban samples cannot be readily extended to rural and small-town couples.

CLEO FITZSIMMONS *and*  
SARAH L. MANNING

## Factors Affecting Farm Family Security

Consideration of family financial security reveals many combinations of conditions and factors which vary among families and from time to time in any one family. Identification of factors affecting financial security should enable families to work more successfully toward attaining it. Reaching goals in several areas which are dealt with specifically is more likely to be possible than reaching one whose components have not been identified.

Factors found to be related to financial security, as defined, are: (1) ways of meeting emergency expenses, (2) ability to attain goals, (3) satisfaction with current economic conditions, (4) family size, and (5) ability to meet current expenses. Further study of quantitative variables, including ways of classifying each of them so that relationships may become apparent, and continued statistical analysis seem desirable as a result of the work reported here.

Cleo Fitzsimmons is head of the department and professor of home management and family economics in the School of Home Economics, and Sarah L. Manning is an associate professor of home management and family economics in the School of Home Economics, Purdue University.\*

FINANCIAL security of farm families has been the subject of study by representatives of the Schools of Home Economics and Agricultural Experiment Stations in Land Grant Colleges in the North Central Region since 1956. Indiana's contribution to the Regional Project NC-32 has been an examination of factors affecting financial security in a group of Indiana farm families. A number of theses dealing with family characteristics, home and farm management practices, and evidences of security and insecurity in farm families have contributed to conclusions reached.<sup>1</sup>

\*Purdue University, Agricultural Experiment Station Journal Paper No. 1551.

<sup>1</sup>Emma Grace Holmes, "Factors Affecting Farm Family Goals" (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1956); Alice C. Stubbs, "A Study of Factors Affecting Financial Security in a Group of Indiana Farm Families" (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue Uni-

Purposes of the Indiana study were: (1) to examine factors related to the financial security status of a group of farm families; (2) to find the degree of association between the families' financial security status, as indicated subjectively by their belief regarding their ability to meet unusual expenses, and factors found related to this aspect of financial security, and (3) to formulate a mathematical expression that may be used in predicting the financial security position of these farm families. A series of studies after 1957 continued the work reported by Dr. Alice C. Stubbs in which information obtained by her regarding the factors was classified and related to tenure, income level, net worth, age of family head, and stages of the family life cycle.

Purpose of the study reported here was to develop a mathematical expression that would indicate the financial status of the families which provided data for the study.

### DEFINITION

Financial security, as considered for the series of studies, was seen as a continuum in which objective and subjective considerations were involved. This continuum may range from no security to complete security. It is a dynamic, moving condition in which each point on the continuum develops out of earlier points. Thus, to understand it, security must be thought of as a changing concept. What may be security to an individual or a family at one point may not be security at another.

Something of the complex nature of the continuum may be indicated by the subjective and objective aspects of financial achievements which represent desired goals or accomplishments by today's families:<sup>2</sup>

1. Subjective: confidence in ability to build up or accumulate net worth.

Objective: the extent to which, over a period of time, families actually increase their net worth.

2. Subjective: confidence in ability to establish and maintain an acceptable level of consumption.

Objective: a family's approval of existing economic circumstances and their anticipated effect on the family; perhaps, also, the evidence of increase in consumption expenditures over a period of years.

---

versity, 1957); Suat Kundak, "Factors Related Significantly to Financial Security of Indiana Farm Families" (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1960); Katherine J. Mottley, "Some Factors Related to Indebtedness in a Selected Group of Indiana Farm Families" (M.S. thesis, Purdue University, 1958); Annabel J. Rupel, "A Study of Factors Related to the Financial Security of a Group of Indiana Farm Families" (M.S. thesis, Purdue University, 1958).

<sup>2</sup>Statement developed out of the work of the North Central Regional Technical Committee for Research in Family Economics.

3. Subjective: confidence in the adequacy of means to care for retirement and potential needs of old age.  
Objective: the extent to which a family is able to build a continuing income, including income credit to receive Social Security, Civil Service, or other pensions in old age.
4. Subjective: confidence in the ability of the family to meet financial emergencies.  
Objective: various levels of ability may appear. The Stubbs study showed that a useful classification of these from greatest to least was: using cash; selling something and paying from income, or from insurance; using insurance only; borrowing to meet emergencies; not knowing how emergencies would be met.<sup>3</sup>

The subjective aspects of financial security and the objective aspects related to them were considered to vary in detail from family to family. They were believed to be related to goals or aspirations families had. The Holmes study had indicated differences in goals recognized by farm families at different stages of the family life cycle. At the earliest stages of the cycle problems related to building net worth were of major concern. In the middle stages attaining a desirable level of consumption, and in the later stages having provisions for maintaining an acceptable consumption level for retirement were especially important. Being able to take care of financial emergencies is important at every stage of the family cycle. What the emergencies may be is related to the families' immediate aims and varies not only from family to family but for any one family from time to time.

#### CRITERION ACCEPTED

Since the problem of meeting emergencies or unusual expenses is found in all stages of the family cycle, financial security, for the present study, was judged by the belief of families regarding their ability to meet emergencies. Since this aspect of financial security was accepted as the only criterion, families in which the members interviewed felt the family could take care of emergency expenses were judged to be secure. Those in which members interviewed said they could not pay or did not know how they would pay emergency expenses were judged to be insecure. Those whose members were merely uncertain as to how they could meet such expenses were put in an "uncertain" group. Two hundred and twenty-one families were judged by this criterion to be secure; eighty-nine families uncertain; and ninety-one insecure.

#### SOME ANALYSES OF FINANCIAL SECURITY

The Mottley study compared the financial practices of insecure families with averages for all families developed by Stubbs. Rupel compared the financial practices of secure families with Stubbs's find-

<sup>3</sup>The classification of levels of ability was developed in the Ph.D. dissertation by Dr. Stubbs.

ings. Kundak examined the significance of differences and set up a mathematical formula using the five factors associated with financial security which were found to be related to security and which, combined, gave the highest composite score of items which changed the score significantly in a multiple regression equation.

Reports of several studies were found which seem related to the assumption regarding the criterion for financial security. A Kentucky study of farmers' plans for economic security in old age<sup>4</sup> had used the amount of net worth as an indicator of a farm family's capacity to withstand possible economic distress or to meet retirement needs in old age. Net worth was found to be related to age, education, tenure status, composition of the family, and nonfarm work experience of the operator. Among these farmers, half of the operators were confident that they would be able to finance their retirement, 10 per cent felt sure that they would not be able to do so, and 40 per cent were uncertain. Both the age and net worth of the operators affected their confidence in their ability to finance their retirement.

In a Pennsylvania study of financial planning among farm and nonfarm families, both husbands and wives expressed their concern for ability to meet emergency expenses. Farm families showed concern more often than nonfarm families did. Next to lack of co-operation between husband and wife, problems having to do with insufficient money and with emergencies were regarded by husbands and wives interviewed as being the most important.<sup>5</sup>

The report of a Texas study contained the statement that "the present financial position of farm families was regarded...as the primary measure of their capacity to withstand possible economic distress." Relatively few of the farm operators were found to have discussed the matter of planned economic security with their wives or other family members. It appeared also that those families in the weakest financial position had given the least consideration to the problem. Some farmers with net worths of \$20,000 did not feel that they had a good source of income in old age. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the operators with a net worth of \$5,000 felt that they would be able to finance retirement needs.<sup>6</sup>

In a study of family financial position in the state of Washington, secure families were considered to be those who had employment and a money income they could depend upon.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>E. Robert Galloway, *Farmers' Plans for Economic Security in Old Age* (Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 626; Lexington, 1955).

<sup>5</sup>Ruth R. Honey and Virginia Britton, *Some Aspects of Financial Planning among Rural Families in a Central Pennsylvania Community* (Pennsylvania Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Pub. 134; University Park, 1956).

<sup>6</sup>William G. Adkins and Joe R. Motheral, *The Farmer Looks at His Economic Security* (Texas Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 774; College Station, 1954).

<sup>7</sup>Philip W. Cartwright, *Survey of Income, Expenditures, and Savings Patterns, Washington, 1948* (Institute of Labor Economics, University of Washington, Seattle, 1950).

A Pennsylvania study of the aspirations of low-income farm operators revealed that one problem in the development of economic action programs in agriculture is finding out what goals are operative among farm people at different income levels. The study established that, with methods used in testing, no apparent relationship existed between gross farm income and aspiration; the relationship between aspiration and total family income approached significance but was not linear; and a significant relationship existed between aspiration and family income from nonfarm sources.<sup>8</sup>

### PROCEDURES IN THIS STUDY

Data for this study were obtained from a random sample of 401 farm families in eight central Indiana counties which are characterized by grain and livestock farming. To be eligible, families had to consist of husband and wife and could include any other members dependent on the family income. For obtaining most types of data, open end questions were used.

Information was taken on a number of factors judged to have a possible relationship to financial security as it had been defined. These included several phases of family financial management as well as characteristics of the family, the farm, the home, and the family's attitudes toward selected financial situations. Financial management factors included: amount of present indebtedness; purposes for which credit was used; types of investment; types and amount of insurance held by the family; amount paid annually in insurance premiums; ways of meeting emergency expenses; consumption costs for nondurable consumption goods; provisions made for old age; and amount of net worth inherited.

Statements of net worth were obtained together with net income (an average for three years, when possible), and the value of home-produced food consumed in a year. A house-and-home scale was used to classify families by socioeconomic scores.<sup>9</sup> A classification was set up for each of the financial management factors and for four sociological factors: education of the family head, education of the wife, family goals, and participation in community activities.

The Stubbs study in a comparison of owners and tenants found for the independent variables and the dependent variable "financial security" the following  $r$ 's denoting dependable relationships<sup>10</sup> as follows:

<sup>8</sup>Frederick C. Fliegel, "Aspirations of Low-Income Farmers and Their Performance and Potential for Change," *Rural Sociology*, XXIV (1959), 205-214.

<sup>9</sup>W. A. Kett, *The Measurement of Home Environment and Its Relationship with Certain Other Variables* (The Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University, Series V, 1942).

<sup>10</sup>J. P. Guilford, *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), p. 165.



<i>Owners (r)</i>	<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>Tenants (r)</i>
.77	Ways of meeting emergencies	.73
.80	Ability to meet consumption costs	.69
.54	Net worth	.40

Families had been asked to evaluate their ability to attain goals and to meet current expenses or consumption costs, and for their attitude toward present economic conditions. To be considered in developing a regression equation, replies were quantified as follows:

Ability to attain goals:

Yes	01
Perhaps	00
No	00

Ability to meet current expenses:

Yes	01
Perhaps	00
No	00

Satisfaction with current economic conditions:

Satisfied	01
Not completely satisfied	00
Dissatisfied	00

In addition to these nonquantitative variables, provision for old age was quantified as:

None	00
Social Security only	00
Social Security and owner of land	01
Social Security, owner of land, and other	01
Other investments	01

Hypotheses tested were that none of the factors considered were related to financial security, as defined, and that tenure was not a significant factor in financial security. The chi-square test of independence was used to determine the relationship between financial security and all other factors in the study. The 1 per cent level of significance was used for these tests. The null hypothesis was rejected for net worth, number in the family, number of years of farm experience, size of debt, education of the husband, ways of meeting emergency expenses, provisions for old age, ability to meet current expenses, ability to attain family goals, and satisfaction with current economic conditions.<sup>11</sup>

To refine the results obtained from chi-square tests, the contribution of each of the variables, for which the null hypothesis was rejected

<sup>11</sup>Ways of meeting emergency expenses are given in part 4 in the definition of financial security and noted in footnote 3. Quantification of this variable is: use cash; use insurance or sell assets; use insurance—01; borrow; don't know—00.

in connection with the financial security of families, was considered through the multiple linear regression analysis.

The Wherry-Doolittle variable selection method was used to find the most influential of the independent variables for inclusion in the regression equation.<sup>12</sup> The  $r$  for each variable with financial security was obtained. The one having the greatest value was taken first and then others were added to the regression equation as long as what they added to the combined  $r$  was a significant amount. Those which were found to add significantly to the composite score in the order of importance were: (1) ways of meeting emergency expenses, (2) ability to attain goals, (3) satisfaction with current economic conditions, (4) family size, and (5) ability to meet current expenses. The multiple correlation coefficient is  $r = .53$ .

The raw score form of the sample regression equation obtained is as follows:

Composite score =  $(-.05)x_3 + (.48)x_6 + (.16)x_8 + (.13)x_9 + (.15)x_{10}$   
 where  $x_3$  = family size,  $x_6$  = ways of meeting emergency expenses,  $x_8$  = ability to meet current expenses,  $x_9$  = ability to attain goals, and  $x_{10}$  = satisfaction with current economic conditions.

Since it was considered possible that both the belief of any family in its ability to meet emergencies and also the ways it might use for meeting them might be the function of net worth, primarily,  $r^2$  was also computed for "net worth" with "ways of meeting emergency expenses" and "ability to meet current expenses." The resulting  $r^2$  equalled .23. Three other variables suggested by Stubbs in the preliminary study for further investigation were considered with the first three. These were "size of debt," "income," and "provisions made for old age." The combined  $r^2$  obtained for the six variables was .25. Since the original five factors gave a slightly higher  $r^2$ , .29, for the purposes of this study they were preferred as indicators of financial security for the families.

The usefulness of the regression equation for indicating family financial security was tested by scoring all of the families and arranging them in the three security status groups—secure, uncertain, and insecure,—according to the scores made. The array of scores obtained is given in Table 1.

### CONCLUSION

In general, the score obtained by the formula seems to be a better indicator of security than of insecurity. Apparently the prediction equation did not include some factor or factors related to insecurity. Some preliminary work indicates that the tenure classification may be involved and that a classification in which owner and renter are the

<sup>12</sup>William H. Stead, Carroll L. Shartle, and others, *Occupational Counseling Techniques* (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 245-250.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of families' financial security status scores

Financial security status	Composite score intervals										Number of families
	-.44- -.32	-.31- -.19	-.18- -.06	-.05- .07	.08- .20	.21- .33	.34- .46	.47- .59	.60- .72	.73- .85	
Secure	0	4	3	4	10	14	31	54	58	43	221
Uncertain	0	5	8	9	9	9	9	18	15	7	89
Insecure	6	16	26	15	11	6	6	3	2	0	91

only divisions should be expanded at least to owner, part-owner, and renter. Those farmers renting from relatives also appear to be in a different consumption and security position than other renters are. In addition, those who own a small portion of land they operate may be in a different security position than those who own a large portion. This should be of considerable significance in operations where relatively large farms are needed for efficiency in production. What constitutes a "large" or "small" farm would vary at least with areas being studied and the type of farming operation involved.

Analysis of financial security serves to emphasize the fact that conditions of greater and less security exist. Although measures of security would be useful, it may be difficult to establish precisely the degree of security through correlated factors, since these are both objective and subjective in nature. Identification of factors related to security may help families, however, by clarifying different areas or segments of an over-all financial situation in which security may be sought and obtained. These may also form a basis for educational programs related to financial security.

A more complete statistical analysis should be made in connection with further study of the problem of financial security in which objective factors are stressed. Work to this point might be summarized as follows:

A common sense definition of financial security was set up.

One component, belief in ability to take care of unusual expenses, which appeared to apply to each stage in the family cycle, was taken as an indicator of presence or absence of financial security in a family.

Many factors considered to have a relation to financial security were chosen for examination. A classification was developed for each factor.

Factors showing the highest correlation coefficients with financial security, as defined, were set in a multiple regression formula.

Families judged to be secure and insecure were scored using the formula. Scores were arrayed for comparison.

Further use of the formula is planned in a study of urban families from whom data are being obtained.

# Research Notes

## A RESEARCH NOTE ON DATA COLLECTION\*

EVERY person working in the field of social research is faced with the problem of selecting the means of data collection best suited to his particular study. Oftentimes, the means selected is based on a compromise between time and the available funds on the one hand and efficiency and suitability on the other. Two of the most popular instruments used for collecting social data are the mailed questionnaires and the personally administered schedule. If the sample is large and dispersed, the mailed questionnaires are frequently used in spite of their well-recognized shortcomings as a research instrument. If the sample is relatively small, the personally administered schedule is more likely to be used, even though it is more time-consuming and requires competent interviewers for efficient administration.

Recently, a research group in the Department of Sociology and Rural Life, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, in dealing with the specific problem of hospital-community relations was confronted with the proposition of how to obtain in the most successful and efficient manner possible some rather extensive data from all hospital administrators about themselves and their hospitals. The number of cases involved was approximately one hundred, and they were distributed throughout the state. The data-collecting instrument contained eighty-four items, many of which were open-ended questions that would require considerable thought and effort on the part of the administrators if they answered them in a manner that would be useful to the research group.

The question confronting the research group was how to get the questionnaires into the hands of the hospital administrators through personal contacts, instead of through the mails, without traveling the length and breadth of Mississippi. The problem was discussed with the executive director of the Mississippi Hospital Association, who suggested using the monthly meetings of the area hospital councils as a partial solution to the problem. At the time there were six such councils in the state with from six to twelve hospital memberships each.

The research group contacted the president of each of the area councils and requested permission for one of its members to participate in an early meeting of the council to explain the purposes of the research and its potential benefits to the hospital administrators. Such permission was readily granted in every case.

\*The study on which this report is based was financed by a grant from the Division of Research Grants, National Institutes of Health, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In preparing for the meetings with the area councils, the research group clipped the questionnaires to an envelope that was stamped and addressed to the leader of the project. In the meetings, the questionnaires were distributed to the hospital administrators present and the research group's representative went through it with them item by item, explaining the meaning and importance of each item and answering any questions that were asked. The administrators were then asked to complete the questionnaires later and return them to the research group in the stamped, addressed envelopes provided.

About one half of the approximately one hundred hospital administrators in the state were contacted at the meeting of their area hospital councils. The remaining administrators were contacted individually by prearranged appointments. In these contacts the group followed the same procedure of explaining the questionnaire item by item and requesting the administrator to complete it later and return it to the research group in the stamped, addressed envelope provided.

Following the contacts with the administrators, the research group wrote each of them personal letters thanking them for their consideration and interest. Those who failed to return their questionnaires within a reasonable time were written another letter requesting that they complete the questionnaire and return it. All of the administrators who returned the questionnaires received a personal letter of thanks from the research group.

The results of this approach in obtaining a mass of data from a highly professionalized group were gratifying. Of the 97 questionnaires distributed, 75 or 77 per cent were completed in a very satisfactory manner and returned. In addition, the members of the research team, through their personal contacts with the administrators, were able to accumulate a wealth of information about the attitudes, opinions, and ideas of hospital administrators that proved extremely valuable in carrying out the research. Another worthwhile by-product of this pattern of interviewing, and one that has been invaluable in the successful operation of subsequent phases of the same project, is that it created an interest in the research among the administrators themselves and gained their sustained support for the duration of the study.

MARION T. LOFTIN and J. H. BRUENING

*Division of Sociology and Rural Life  
Mississippi State University*

## RURAL-REARED WORKERS AND LABOR TURNOVER

AS rural-reared young workers enter jobs in urban-located plants and factories, do they engage in more voluntary job-shifting than their urban-reared counterparts? This note explores data collected to throw light on the question.

The labor market of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1948-1949 consisted of ten parishes, the population of which was heavily rural-farm.<sup>1</sup> Thus the

<sup>1</sup>East Baton Rouge Planning Committee, "Economic Aspects of East Baton Rouge Parish" (Baton Rouge, 1947 [mimeo.]); Homer Hitt and Alvin Bertrand, *Social Aspects of Hospital Planning* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947).

industrial establishments in the urban center of Baton Rouge could recruit both urban-reared and rural-reared employees. Would comparisons show that the young rural-reared worker had significantly more voluntary job changes?

Specific work histories were available in the Baton Rouge office of the State Employment Service. These contained information regarding place of birth and school attendance, history of both voluntary and involuntary job changes, type of job held most during the past five years, and such demographic facts as age, sex, marital status, race, veteran status, and amount of education. The active file contained 2,964 histories of subjects between the ages of 20 and 34 (in five occupational categories). Information from these records was transferred to data sheets showing such information as number of voluntary job changes, rural-reared or urban-reared, and occupational type.

Two factors placed a subject in the rural-reared category. If he had been born on a farm in open country or in a community with a population of 5,000 or less, and if he had attended school in a community with a population of 5,000 or less, he was rural-reared. Otherwise, he was urban-reared. The bulk of the subjects were born and had attended school either in places with a population of 2,500 or under or places with a population of 10,000 or over. If a subject had been born in a rural area, but went to school in an urban area, he was classified as urban-reared and vice versa.

"Quits" were separated from involuntary changes on each record, and only jobs in the Baton Rouge area were considered in reaching the number of voluntary changes made by a given person during the previous five years of work. Since each case was filed under an occupational description (i.e., clerical, sales), the label was retained. Only the clerical, sales, skilled, service, and semiskilled groups were used, however.

It was discovered that the range of voluntary job changes among subjects was from zero to six during the five years preceding the study. Two comparisons relative to the number of voluntary job changes on this range were made. The first was an over-all one, without consideration for such variables as age, type of occupation, sex, race, marital status, education, or veteran status. The second contrasted the two groups on a more refined, matched basis. This comparison was possible because of the large number of cases available. Specific variables were equated from case to case, so that their influence was reduced. This, however, drastically lowered the number of histories for comparison in any particular table.

The over-all comparison was made by chi-square tables comparing the number of voluntary job changes for rural-reared and urban-reared workers. Such a comparison was made for each occupational group, and, if it indicated that the observed difference in job changes could not be due to chance, a coefficient of contingency was computed to determine the amount of association between the type of background and the number of job changes. This index, incidentally, tends to underestimate the amount of relationship present.<sup>2</sup> Table 1 summarizes the results of these comparisons.

These results indicate a substantial difference between the total rural and urban groups relative to the number of voluntary job changes. The

<sup>2</sup>Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), p. 207.



Table 1. Differences between rural-reared and urban-reared men in number of voluntary job changes

Job classification	Chi-square test: 5% level	Coefficient of contingency (corrected)
Clerical	Significant	.24
Sales	Significant	.23
Service	Nonsignificant	—
Skilled (manufacturing)	Significant	.31
Skilled (electrical, aircraft, and scientific)	Significant	.29
Semiskilled	Significant	.24

amount of relationship, however, is low, even though it appears to be genuine. This indicated that there might be specific clusterings of factors in which the differences did not exist and on the other hand clusterings in which they were retained.

The second series of comparisons was made in an effort to isolate these clusters. Since information concerning age, sex, marital status, etc., was available, each occupational classification was subdivided by most of these variables. Negroes, females, and nonveterans were removed. This left from the original histories a total of 1,234 cases of white, veteran males under 34. Furthermore, these could be subdivided on the basis of four factors: age, occupational experience, marital status, and high school attainment. The original divisions into rural-reared, urban-reared, and number of job changes was, of course, still present.

One change in the latter, however, was made. Job changes were dichotomized into "four changes and over" and "one through three changes." This allowed for an assessment of the direction of significant differences, provided it was present; i.e., was the rate for the rural-reared men significantly higher or lower than for the urban-reared men? Age was categorized by four-year intervals; for occupational experience, the classes of clerical workers and service workers were combined; marital status meant either married or single; and education was categorized as completion or noncompletion of high school.

Thirty-two such matched tables were tested using the 5% level of significance. In each one, only the rural-urban aspect and the number of job changes were allowed to vary; the former was considered the independent variable, and the number of job changes was regarded as the dependent variable. Since such an extensive subdivision of the cases reduced drastically the number of histories in each table, it was necessary to use a different chi-square method, applicable to small samples.<sup>a</sup>

A summary of the results of the 32 tests for significant differences in the number of job changes between rural-reared and urban-reared workers is shown in Table 2. A zero symbol indicates the absence of any significant difference between rural-reared and urban-reared men, and a plus symbol

<sup>a</sup>Ronald A. Fisher and Frank Yates, *Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural, and Medical Research* (New York: Hagner, 1948), p. 5.

Table 2. Controlled differences between rural-reared and urban-reared men in number of voluntary job changes

Age	Skilled				Semiskilled				Clerical or service			
	Married		Single		Married		Single		Married		Single	
	HS*	NHS†	HS	NHS	HS	NHS	HS	NHS	HS	NHS	HS	NHS
21-24	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	0
25-28	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	0
29-32	+	0	0	0	No data	0	No data	0	+	No data	0	No data

\*HS—High school graduate.

†NHS—Not high school graduate.

indicates the presence of a significantly higher number of job changes among the rural-reared men.

From these results certain tentative descriptions of the subjects can be reached. For the first eight years of probable work experience in all occupational groups the rural-reared subjects showed a significantly higher rate of job changes than the urban-reared subjects. When this general pattern is refined, it becomes obvious that this difference lodges itself at various points within the occupational classifications. For the skilled, the differences began with the single high school graduate, and, with time, moved over to the married high school graduate; the common feature for all the significant differences for all ages was high school graduation. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that the rural-reared skilled worker (among the cases) with a high school education appeared to have a voluntary job change rate significantly higher than his urban-reared counterpart throughout early adulthood.

For the semiskilled workers, the significant difference between rural-reared and urban-reared ones began with those married and not high school graduates, and shifted, with age, to the single men not high school graduates; the common factor for all the significant differences was the absence of a high school education. The rural-reared, semiskilled worker among the subjects without a high school education appeared to have a significantly higher rate of job changes through his early adult years than did his urban-reared parallel.

For the clerical-service job classification, the difference in job changes between the rural-reared and the urban-reared men is present in only one category, namely, the married high school graduate. The rural-reared clerical or service worker with a high school diploma apparently had significantly more job changes than did his urban-reared counterpart throughout his twenties and early thirties.

Thus, for two of the three job classifications (skilled and clerical-service) the possession of a high school education by the rural-reared meant that they would, throughout their young adulthood, manifest a significantly higher job-change rate than their urban-born coworkers. It seems reasonable

to assume that they were more discontented and, in their definition of the situation, seeking better advantages in new jobs. High school graduation was quite rare in the rural areas from which the Baton Rouge labor force came;<sup>4</sup> the possession of such an accomplishment may have been an influence motivating the rural-reared in these occupations to seek more advantages in new jobs. Added to this was the probable absence of effective vocational guidance to place them.

Among the semiskilled, however, a high school diploma apparently accelerated job changing for the urban-reared so that there were no significant differences when compared with the rural-reared. The differences between the two groups were among those not high school graduates rather than among graduates. At the social class level represented by the semiskilled, high school graduation apparently symbolized more job opportunity for the urban-reared than at the class levels represented by skilled and clerical-service occupations. Consequently, a discontent similar to that among rural-reared high school graduates developed, stimulating job shifting and eliminating the differences between the two groups.

On the other hand, the urban-reared cases without a high school certificate may well represent an attitude of futility. Instead of seeking a better position because of more education, the tendency was to remain in one job, thus creating significant differences when compared to the rural-reared.

In short, educational attainment continues to be the common factor on which the differences rest. But in the case of the semiskilled it is given a different meaning, resulting in significant job-change differences among those who did not graduate from high school rather than among those who did.

Being married or single did not consistently refine the general significant difference in job changes between rural-reared and urban-reared men. The significant differences shifted from married to single, or existed in both, especially for the skilled and semiskilled. On the other hand, the clerical-service occupations showed a clear-cut concentration of differences in the married category. The rural-reared male persons working in such occupations, who were married and had a high school education, were consistently characterized by a significantly higher rate of job change than urban-reared persons with the same features and in the same occupations.

It is also interesting to note that for the skilled aged 21-24 the significant differences were between only the single. Apparently the rural-reared skilled person at this age who was married did not think in terms of job movement as much as did his rural-reared counterpart who was single. After this age, however, the significant differences were present among the married rural-reared, as well as the single rural-reared.

Finally, there is no consistent lodging of the differences in specific ages. They are distributed throughout the eleven-year span, the main exception being that for the semiskilled the differences vanish after the 25-28 age group.

#### LIMITATIONS

These interpretations must be made with certain defects of the data in mind. Beyond doubt, the subjects were a selected group by virtue of their

<sup>4</sup>Louise Kemp and T. Lynn Smith, *Educational Characteristics of the Population of Louisiana* (Louisiana Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 52: Baton Rouge, 1943).

registration with an employment agency. Perhaps those more prone to turnover were thus included and those less prone left out. This, however, is not as crippling as it first appears, since it would serve to accentuate the phenomenon under study, namely, job changes. Also, there is no way of knowing how long the rural-reared had been in the urban labor force. Some cases probably had less exposure to urban working conditions than others; consequently there is not a uniformity for comparison.

Furthermore, comparisons were made between many types of industrial conditions. This means that an alternative interpretation of the findings would emphasize the unstable nature of the industries to which the rural-reared were attracted rather than adjustment to urban life. In short, the variations in the nature of the job could not be taken into consideration. The sample was not confined to uniform job conditions. This is perhaps its chief defect. Even here, however, the large size of the sample acts partially to offset the defect. There are thus some grounds for believing that the urban-reared, as well as the rural-reared, would be exposed to different job types.

Finally, the classification of "voluntary" may be spurious. It probably contains falsification, error, and mistakes due to record interpretation. No direct effort was made to verify the random sample to determine the accuracy of the label.

The upshot of these limitations is that general conclusions are not warranted. Some hypotheses are, however, permissible. The following are suggested by the data: If an urban labor force area contains a mixture of rural-reared and urban-reared workers, the former will demonstrate a higher turnover rate throughout their young adulthood than will the latter. The skilled, clerical, or service workers who are high school graduates will carry the bulk of these changes rather than the non-graduating rural-reared persons. It should, however, be emphasized again that these are hypotheses, and are aimed at exploring a facet of turnover as yet unconsidered.

Probably more important are the questions raised for research by the data. If the rural area around the industrial concentration of Baton Rouge were divided into tiers on the basis of distance from the city, would not the differences between rural-reared and urban-reared be lodged chiefly in the most removed tier? For the tiers closest to the city a "feedback" probably develops that prepares the rural resident for industrial work. Another aspect of this question concerns the role of commuting. To what degree does the distance traveled to and from work influence the probability of a job change?

It seems reasonable to state that employers who plan to utilize a rural-reared labor force rather than an urban-reared one should investigate the desirability of specific training plans aimed at reducing a possible higher turnover rate. It should be stressed that the data on which this suggestion is based is not representative of any specific industrial area but is sufficiently extensive to produce meaningful hypotheses about rural-urban background factors in job changes.

HARRISON M. TRICE

*School of Industrial and Labor Relations  
Cornell University*

Edited by WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

## Book Reviews

Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 389 pp. \$7.50.

This comprehensive report is the first of a series on contemporary life in this small, densely populated island of the Malays. After many months of intensive study in both Indonesian and Javanese languages and after interviewing Dutch scholars, the author and his wife interviewed religious and political leaders before moving to Modjokuto, where they lived with a family for one and a half years, interviewing all kinds of informants in the native language. The bulk of the research, however, came from informal "participant observer" activities.

This ethnology of religion skillfully and comprehensively analyzes the three main religious subtraditions: the *abangan* variant, composed of poorer peasantry and typical of southeast Asian "Folk religion"; the *santri*, portraying urban trading classes of the more orthodox Islamic approach; and the *prijaji*, exhibiting the Hindu-Buddhist elements and educated, urban upper classes. A thorough presentation is made of the ritual, spirit beliefs, cycles, birth, marriage, death, and magic of the *abangan* variant. Then the author discusses the development of conservative and modern aspects of Islam. Patterns of political-religious leadership, activity, and organization are convincingly discussed, as well as various phases of the educational system of the *santri* community.

Moslem Law and the *santri* ritual patterns conclude Part Two. Considerable cultural anthropological description of the background and dimensions of *prijaji* belief and etiquette, roles of classical and popular art, music, and dancing follows. The chapters on "Mysticism" and "Mystical Sects" seem to this reviewer to be of unusual significance in an approach to the sociology of religion.

Part Four, entitled "Conclusion: Conflict and Integration," summarizes various religious and social conflicts in a setting of traditionalism, nationalism, and a projection of a new common culture with social structural factors, tolerance, and pluralistic social integration. Cutting across the three variants which were dealt with most exhaustively are the following beliefs and values which appear throughout Javanese life and religion: great concern for status formality; emphasis on politeness and on dissimulation of emotion and avoidance of intense external stimuli; inwardness; a view of religion as phenomenological "science" and of fasting as "applied science"; the idea that revolution and fixity of will are of utmost significance in living an effective

life; the conviction that people ought to co-operate and help one another; and the idea that religious beliefs of others should be viewed realistically as suitable for them if not for everyone. The only criticism of this appreciative reviewer is that graphs and photographs of actual phenomena would have added greatly to this tremendous volume, since the only illustrations, two maps, seemed insufficient.

HENRY SHISSLER

*Department of Sociology  
West Virginia Wesleyan College*

Greene, Shirley E. *Ferment on the Fringe: Studies of Rural Churches in Transition*. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press, 1960. 170 pp. \$2.00.

This book deals with the problems confronting the long-established rural church located near an urban center and being surrounded by the expanding city population. The author chooses to look mainly at what actual churches caught in such situations have done, as churches, to make the transition from rural toward urban. In a time of rapid urban expansion accompanied by rapid changes in patterns of living, it is often fatal for rural congregations finding themselves in the path of an exploding city population to be faced with sudden demands for a new and expanded program and facilities. In this book the author presents ten case studies of churches which successfully faced such situations in various types of rural-urban fringe areas. In these ten studies the author finds and analyzes common elements and in turn presents guide lines for adjustment to the new situation.

Two of the fourteen chapters included in Greene's analysis bear special mention. One, entitled "Secrets of Success," deals with organization methods including ministerial leadership, physical facilities, organizational structure, program expansion, special techniques, and community outreach. The other, entitled "About Attitudes," deals with friendliness and tolerance ("openness"), community-mindedness, internal unity, loyalty to the essential church, and the will to succeed.

This book is excellent for ministers of rural churches located in areas affected by urban expansion. It is also valuable to social scientists interested in the "flight to the fringe."

JOHN PHOTIADIS

*Department of Rural Sociology  
South Dakota State College*

Jonassen, Christen T., and H. Peres Sherwood. *Interrelationships of Dimensions of Community Systems*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960. ix, 47 pp. \$2.50.

The title of this book appears to be a misnomer in that counties rather than communities are the analytical units for the study being reported. In spite of the rationalization presented to justify this procedure, it would appear to this reader that equating counties and communities does consider-



able violence to the sociological concept of community. This is especially true in highly urbanized Ohio where an individual county often represents only a segment of a large urban community system.

The book affords a very concise report of a factor analysis of 82 variables for the 88 counties of Ohio. A modification of the Thurstone Centroid Technique was used to extract seven common factors from the intercorrelations of the 82 variables. These factors were then rotated using criteria of "meaningfulness and orthogonality." The seven rotated factors were considered to represent urbanism, welfare, influx, poverty, magni-complexity, educational effort, and proletarianism.

One questionable aspect of the study is to be found in the lack of statistical independence among certain groups of the variables selected for analysis. The battery of variables includes numerous composite measures which are derived from groups of variables which also appear singly in the battery. The usual method of deriving these composite variables is through the addition of ranks achieved by counties on component variables. This procedure leads to "built-in" correlations between composite and component variables and could well result in factors being extracted from groups of variables which are otherwise uncorrelated.

On the whole, the book is well organized and concisely written. It is especially recommended to demographers or others whose research involves ecological units of analysis. The techniques used in the book provide an extremely efficient means of summarizing large masses of data by revealing patterns of interrelations of large numbers of variables. It is hoped that additional researchers of this nature will follow.

EMMIT F. SHARP

*Department of Rural Sociology  
Cornell University*

Knapp, Joseph G. *Seeds That Grew: A History of the Cooperative Grange League Federation Exchange*. Hinsdale, N. Y.: Anderson House, 1960. 535 pp. \$6.50.

This is a unique book, because it is a meticulous record of current history. It could have been written only by a person who had himself like many others sought to ascertain the validated facts about a historical situation and found either that the facts had not been recorded at the time or the records had not been preserved. It is a valuable book, because the author, out of his long-time, continuous study of co-operatives, was able to tell the story of the experiment and experiences of a great American co-operative, in terms of both its history and its economic significance.

Anyone who has attempted to reconstruct the actual experiences of an organization, which either arose in the past and died, or arose and lived but had no careful record of its early days, knows that he should have a healthy mistrust of much of the information available to him. In this case, the author wrote his story at a time when he could, and did, check all his inferences and interpretations with those who were active participants in the story he has recorded.

There are forty-eight chapters and five appendices in this 537-page book. There are few, but ample, generalizations, chiefly in the first and last chapters, which provide historic and economic orientation for the other forty-six closely written chapters. There are hundreds of footnotes, all of which the deeply interested reader will want to read. As Dr. E. G. Nourse says in the foreword, however, "The very fact of such richness of detail as he has given to the book will defeat the purpose of anyone who has the intention to read it in an evening or on a slack day at the office."

The first four chapters present the background situations out of which the Grange League Federation grew or evolved. Basically, these situations or conditions were the steadily increasing commercialization of American farming, the production of farm products for markets, and the purchase by farmers of an increasing percentage of their production supplies. These were the same situations which had given rise to early Grange and Alliance co-operatives, most of which failed because they did not understand the fundamental and necessary economic and business functions which had to be performed between primary producers and ultimate consumers, or purchasers, of goods in a price and market economy.

To meet these same, but greatly magnified, situations, the GLF was organized in 1918 and legally incorporated in 1920. It started with a capital stock of less than \$32,000. In less than 30 years (by 1959), its total capital stock and patrons' equity was more than \$46,000,000, and its total liabilities, capital stock, and patrons' equity were more than \$68,000,000. The author relates chapter by chapter the ways by which the leaders of this organization learned how to handle the big and diversified business which the organization now handles.

The GLF is a farmers' purchasing, or supply, co-operative, not a marketing co-operative. This is a type of co-operative which had largely failed in the past. All the more reason why the history of its success is important and a detailed record of how it succeeded is important. This record, if described in generalizations, would not present an analysis of how it succeeded. The analysis has to be in the detail which the author has presented. The details had to be, and were, validated. The sources of validation are so completely documented that no future analyst need search for them or even read them. The work Dr. Knapp did in preparing this book need never be repeated. The book itself is the completely validated and documented history of an organization which itself wrote an important chapter in American co-operatives and an important chapter in American history.

It is this reviewer's judgment that the book can no more be reviewed in terms of generalizations than it could have been written in such terms. It must be read in detail. Those who read it, however, will not be lost in the details, because it moves from the introductory chapter on "The Underlying Trend" through the concluding chapter, "To Meet the Future," under the hand of a scholar who, step by step, ran a clear line of analysis through his descriptions of these details. It is like a report on a piece of laboratory research. It presents its findings in detail, but also presents the researcher's scholarly interpretation of these findings.

CARL C. TAYLOR

*Arlington, Virginia*

Leslie, Charles M. *Now We Are Civilized: A Study of the World View of the Zapotec Indians of Mitla, Oaxaca*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1960. xi, 103 pp. \$3.95.

There was a time not long ago when readers had to rely upon a single report of a single anthropologist for their understanding of a tribal or peasant community in a foreign land. Nowadays our more affluent society can afford the luxury of a second look, and more and more anthropologists are going back to restudy communities which had been studied earlier by their colleagues. In 1929 and 1933 Professor Elsie Clews Parsons studied the Mexican village of Mitla. About twenty years later Professor Leslie restudied the same village, which he describes in this volume. Such independent studies are especially useful for what they tell us about culture change, but they can also serve as checks upon the reliability and validity of anthropological reporting. In this case, Leslie found Parson's earlier work solid and reliable. In a sense, Leslie's volume is a more concise and readable synthesis of Parsons' much underrated work.

This little book has many virtues. It is well written and delightfully short—the heart of the book is less than seventy pages—and it manages to convey the quality of village life without overburdening the reader with ethnographic details.

Although Leslie's account contributes relatively little that will be new to the careful student of rural Mexico, his book is valuable because it focuses upon the ethos of the people and the quality of interpersonal relations. Particularly noteworthy is his emphasis upon the differences between the villagers' idealized versions of themselves as "a civilized and peaceful community" and the real situation which includes considerable violence, suspicion, backbiting, lying, witchcraft, and bribery. Most murder within the village goes unpunished. The killer leaves the village for a while and then returns unmolested. No one seems to feel outraged; there is no faith in law and the police; there are few supernatural sanctions for illicit or immoral behavior. In short, this is hardly a pretty picture, and it tends to dispel the Rousseauian view of peasant life.

In spite of the new paved highway which now connects the village with the state capitol, the new post office, a resident doctor, the adoption of new clothing styles and popular music, the expropriation of some nearby haciendas, and the presence of Protestant missionaries, Leslie's report indicates a remarkable stability in the basic attitudes and values of the people since Parsons' time. Moreover, he found little evidence of social disruption as a concomitant of the above changes. If anything, the social atomism of the village structure has been somewhat lessened. Fiestas have become bigger and better, and ceremonial life has flourished.

This reviewer found the appendix an unnecessarily defensive and rather unimpressive statement of the humanistic approach in anthropology. Moreover, the author's declaration in the introduction of his indebtedness for his understanding of the Mitla world view to the ideas of Lionel Trilling, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Reed Whitmore, Henri Bergson, R. H. Tawney, and Johan Huizinga is not substantiated by this volume and strikes one as a bit of name dropping. It seems to me that the true sources of Professor Leslie's inspiration for this otherwise competent little book are his anthropo-

logical predecessors such as Elsie Clews Parsons, George Foster, Julio de la Fuente, and others.

OSCAR LEWIS

*Professor of Anthropology  
University of Illinois*

Moore, Wilbert E., and Arnold S. Feldman, eds. *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960. xv, 358 pp. \$3.75.

Eighteen social scientists have collaborated in exploring the social correlates of economic change, using labor commitment as a convenient focus for the whole complex process of social transformation. Conceived by the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council, this book is an important contribution to the profuse literature recently concerned with economic development.

As the editors describe it, labor commitment involves performance and acceptance of the behaviors appropriate to an industrial way of life. Contributors to the book then proceed to describe and analyze the wide range of personal and institutional adjustments which is experienced in varying degrees among different cultural groups around the world who are assumed to be striving toward a better way of life via industrialization.

This study consists of six parts, with twenty chapters which include such topics as organization of work, labor mobility, labor market, competing status systems, urbanization, population growth, and changing social structures of family, economic organization, religion, government, and education. Changes in attitudes and values which accompany economic change are given greater emphasis than in most studies dealing with economic change.

In the reviewer's opinion, chapters on preindustrial forms of organized work by Stanley H. Udy, Jr., industrial conflict and unions by William H. Knowles, kinship and voluntary associations by Manning Nash, labor market in Puerto Rico by Peter Gregory, and management in economic transition by Peter B. Hammond are especially noteworthy, because they point up many formidable impediments to change. The chapter on political organization and ideology by David E. Apter contains an illuminating presentation of the goals of nationalism and the role of government in economic development.

This book offers no formula for accelerating economic growth, but its penetrating analysis of the most dynamic component of change—the labor force—helps to explain why economic growth is a long-term, complex, adaptive process and does not result from short-term, piecemeal planning and action.

ROBERT T. McMILLAN

*Public Administration Division  
International Cooperation Administration*

Nanavati, M. B., and J. J. Anjaria. *The Indian Rural Problem*, 5th edition. Bombay, Ind.: Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1960. 532 pp. \$6.00.

Knowing that this review is written for the American reader and assuming, rightly or wrongly, that few American readers are well acquainted with the rural problems of India, I am presenting this review more to tell the readers about what he can learn from this book than as a critical appraisal of what the authors say. The book was first published in 1944, and this is its fifth edition, its first revision. I would recommend that the reader first read the "Introduction to the First Edition," pp. x to xvi, to acquaint himself with a brief, broad survey of the agricultural situation at the time the book was first written. He needs this background information sharply to direct and deepen his interest in the chapters which follow.

The state of development of agricultural economics in India, indeed the state of agricultural development itself, dictates that a treatment of the Indian rural problem be quite different from either agricultural economics or rural sociology in the United States, where data are available from a great body of farm management, marketing, and land use research in agricultural economics and where a great body of detailed data are available from rural social research in the levels of living, community organization, and population mobility.

Having myself attempted to analyze all available current and earlier data on Indian rural life, I am deeply appreciative of the difficulties which confronted the authors of this book. I can only express praise rather than criticism for their incapacity to present systematic time-series data or even systematic nationwide data on a number of agricultural or rural life fields which they seek to analyze. Their treatment, in spite of fragmentary and unsystematic data, is nevertheless systematic.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I presents an encyclopedia of information on natural resources, population, agriculture, food supply and nutrition, and social services. Part II presents a review of the current structure of official and nonofficial organizations which serve rural people. Even more importantly, it presents the historic causes for, and evolution of, such fundamental problems as tenure systems, size of holdings, illiteracy, farmers' indebtedness, and rural poverty. In Part III, the authors "set out the essentials of a proper policy, embracing not merely economic but, by necessity, the broader social aspects of rural life."

Because better data are gradually becoming available and because planned agricultural improvement is moving rapidly in India, it is welcome news that the authors are now working on a completely revised edition of this book. At the moment, the reader will find in this book a cogent survey of almost all that is available on what they seek to know about the agricultural economic and social problems and situations in India.

CARL C. TAYLOR

*Arlington, Virginia*

Parmelee, M. *The History of Modern Culture*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1960. 1295 pp. \$10.00.

This is a monumental book, the product of a lifetime study by the author. A volume of almost 1300 pages, it of course cannot be reviewed in a few hundred words. To cite the titles of the three parts, "Origins and Early

Evolution," "Emergence of Modern Culture," and "Geographical and Functional Factors," gives only the most general information on the contents of its 78 chapters.

To cite 78 chapter titles would be to misrepresent the genius of the book. It is basically a treatise of social theory and theories. In spite of the author's attempt to be utterly objective, he is a theorist and like all other theorists unconsciously partly subjective and partly speculative. It is, however, his theories which provide the systematic treatment of the history of modern culture.

Those who accept, in the main, his theories will find them applicable at many places in the book, especially in the last five chapters where the author discusses current cultural, social, economic, and political events and conditions. Those who do not wholly accept his theories will probably argue that rather than adequately interpreting current events and conditions, his application only expresses his biases about them. It is this reviewer's judgment that all social theories partially do one and partially the other of these things. Dr. Parmelee's theories are consistent from the first to the last chapters and should be read not only by all social theorists but by many others.

Many readers who lay no claim to being social theorists will find that many chapters in the book make real contributions to their special fields of interest. If a reader is interested, for example, in the "Origins of Institutions" and "Other Social Organizations," "The Origin of Social Classes," "The Origin and Nature of the State," "Distribution of Wealth," "Feudalism," or "Religion," he will find these subjects discussed in a consistent frame of cultural origins and culturally conditioning factors. This is by no means to say, however, that this book is a mere encyclopedia either in scope or style. It is a systematic and conceptual treatment of the history of modern culture and an exposition of what it is in terms of its causal factors or antecedents. It is a book that all sociologists, and many other social scientists, could well afford to read.

CARL C. TAYLOR

Arlington, Virginia

Wish, Harvey. *The American Historian*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. viii, 366 pp. \$7.50.

The author points out in the preface of this work that historians in recent years have realized the importance of the "underlying social and intellectual assumptions as well as the questions of craftsmanship in their discipline." He has been interested in examining representative writers in American historiography with the objective of determining their social conditioning. The conclusion that he has reached as a result of this effort he has stated as follows: "While the author is no relativist, but a believer in a reasonable idea of 'objectivity,' he finds that the social determinants are but too intrusive in the writings of so many of our leading historians and inspire caution on the part of serious readers." He does feel, however, that the historian in the mid-twentieth century has become more sophisticated and self-critical and is, therefore, more fully aware of subjective factors in the writing of history.

The historians and writers and the historical areas they represent, as given



in the chapter titles, are as follows: "From Bradford to Mather: The Puritan Mission in History," "Hutchinson The Enlightenment: and the Tory Emphasis," "Jared Sparks and the Dominance of the Federalist-Whig Historians," "Richard Hildreth, Utilitarian Philosopher," "George Bancroft and German Idealism," "Francis Parkman and the Pageant of the Wilderness," "From Fiske to Gipson: The Rise of Colonial Institutional History," "John Bach McMaster and the Rise of Social History," "Henry Adams and the Dream of a Science of History," "Turner and the Moving Frontier," "Von Holst to Dunning: Abolitionists and Revisionists, (1880-1910)," "Ulrich B. Phillips and the Image of the Old South," "Charles A. Beard and the Economic Interpretation of History," "Parrington and the Rise of Intellectual History," and "Allan Nevins and Recent Historiography."

Professor Wish has provided some valuable insights into the social and intellectual factors which were important in determining the points of view of the men discussed. He has also indicated the influences that sociologists such as Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess had in influencing the writings of these historians. The one problem that would need further study is whether other writers would agree with the author with regard to his objectivity. It is, of course, difficult to set up objective criteria that all competent researchers would agree upon. Nevertheless, the author is to be complimented on a most worthy objective and on the wealth of insights he has furnished.

REED H. BRADFORD

Department of Sociology  
Brigham Young University

### BOOKS RECEIVED

- Campbell, Q. Ernest. *When A City Closes Its Schools*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Inst. for Res. in Social Science, 1960. v, 195 pp. \$1.00.
- Cole, G. D. H., and Raymond Postgate. *The British Common People, 1746-1946*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961. x, 742 pp. \$1.95.
- Duncan, Dudley Otis, Ray P. Cuzzort, and Beverly Duncan. *Statistical Geography: Problems in Analyzing Areal Data*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. vii, 191 pp. \$6.00.
- Elliott, A. Mabel, and E. Francis Merrill. *Social Disorganization*. 4th ed.; New York: Harper, 1961. xiii, 795 pp. \$8.50.
- International Labour Office. *Why Labour Leaves the Land*. Geneva, Switz.: International Labour Office, 1960. viii, 229 pp. \$2.25.
- Janowitz, Morris. *Community Political Systems*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. 259 pp. \$7.50.
- Ländliche Neuordnung in Schleswig-Holstein* (Beitrag zur Frühjahrstagung der Agrarsozialen Gesellschaft e.V. in Kiel.) Göttingen: Agrarsozialen Gesellschaft, 1960. 51 pp. No price given.

- Mansholt, S. L., and others, *Agrarsoziale Probleme in der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft*. Hannover, Ger.: Schaper, 1959. 130 pp. No price given.
- Mathews, Thomas. *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1960. xii, 345 pp. \$8.00.
- Patton, Robert. *Current Trends in Psychological Theory*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. ix, 229 pp. \$6.00.
- Rudy, Willis. *The Evolving Liberal Arts Curriculum: A Historical Review of Basic Themes*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960. iv, 135 pp. \$3.00.
- Swedner, Harald. *Ecological Differentiation of Habits and Attitudes*. Lund, Swe.: Gleerups, 1960. xv, 333 pp. No price given.
- Turner, E. C., C. Morley Sellery, and Sara Louise Smith. *School Health and Health Education*. St. Louis, Mo.: Mosby, 1961. 481 pp. \$5.00.
- Wilgus, Curtis A. *The Caribbean: Contemporary Education*. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1960. xx, 290. \$6.50.

Edited by LOUIS J. DUCOFF\*

## Bulletin Reviews

Andrews, Wade H., Ward W. Bauder, and Everett M. Rogers. *Benchmarks for Rural Industrialization: A Study of Rural Development in Monroe County, Ohio*. Ohio Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull 870; Wooster, Nov., 1960. 34 pp.

This study was designed to establish a series of bench marks in Monroe County, Ohio, which has undergone rapid industrial development. Hypotheses from other studies are used to test several dimensions of population, agriculture, community satisfactions, communications media, and attitudes toward industry.

Data were secured from 607 sample households in the study county and 332 in a contiguous county not experiencing industrial development. The plan is to restudy each county after a lapse of five years.

Findings from this study largely confirm what is generally known about socioeconomic conditions in low-income underemployment areas. The population shows large proportions in the old and young age groups and smaller proportions in the working age groups. Although many young adults migrate to seek education and employment outside the county, migration rates are lower than for the rest of Ohio. Levels of living and educational attainment are below the state levels. Hilly, poor land and subsistence agriculture give rise to an abundance of surplus, unskilled labor. The farmers use less mechanization and technology than in other areas.

Significantly, the authors pose a series of hypotheses to be tested in assessing expected changes in the restudy after five years. Twelve hypotheses are stated in the population area; three deal specifically with agricultural changes; six are related to general problems of social organization; three deal with communications; and two specify the attitudes of the local residents toward industry and agriculture.

Studies such as this one could prove valuable in assessing changes that occur in social systems under the impact of rural development programs and could provide empirical evidence for further generalizations of value to future rural development activities.

C. L. FOLSE

Department of Agricultural Economics  
University of Illinois

\*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

Cowhig, James, Jay Artis, J. Allan Beegle, and Harold Goldsmith. *Orientations toward Occupations and Residence*. Michigan Agr. Exp. Sta. Special Bull. 428; East Lansing, 1960. 34 pp.

Nelson, Bardin H. *Attitudes of Youth*. Texas Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 953; College Station, Apr. 1960. 10 pp.

These two bulletins are contributions to that rapidly expanding body of information about the aspirations, predispositions, and plans of rural youth who are contemplating careers in a very complex and rather uncertain world. Both bulletins are survey reports dealing with high school seniors in selected rural counties in the respective states.

The Michigan bulletin presents the more sophisticated analysis of occupational, educational, and residential plans in a traditional research bulletin format and style. Methodological procedures, statistical tests, and limitations are clearly specified. For this first report on the study, tabular breakdowns are, in the main, by sex and residence. Father's education, father's occupation, and net family income as reported by the youths were also employed as independent variables, but yielded little in the way of statistically significant relationships. In general, this phase of the larger study, as reported here, adds no more depth to the explanation of differences in career choosing than that which is found in the usual census classifications.

The Texas bulletin, boasting a very attractive cover, is written in a more casual style. Methodological procedures are treated lightly. The reader, for example, is told only that the information was collected by "interview" and the "probing" technique. Student responses are quoted to illustrate different attitudes. Although obviously reported for home consumption, the information is suggestive to a wider audience, and includes some interesting departures from the usual kinds of data collected for the purpose of exploring youth's career choices. For example, the students' evaluations of 15 community services are included.

People in the respective states who are concerned with the career planning problems of rural youth will find both bulletins useful in assessing the respective situations. However, one would be hard pressed indeed to discover how either study contributes more than "here and now" empirical generalizations to our knowledge about the significant social-psychological problem of career choosing.

HARRY K. SCHWARZWELLER

*Department of Rural Sociology*  
*University of Kentucky*

Metzler, William H., and Frederic O. Sargent. *Migratory Farmworkers in the Midcontinent Streams*. Agr. Res. Serv. Prod. Res. Rpt. 41, in co-operation with Texas Agr. Exp. Sta.; Washington, Dec., 1960. 62 pp.

Results of a survey of six cities in southern Texas having settlements of Spanish-American migratory farm workers are reported in this bulletin. Characteristics of the migrants, migration patterns, employment, wages, and annual earnings are given for 446 households consisting of 1,334 individual workers.

Migrants in the southern Texas area moved to some 30 states in 1956 and earned an average of \$2,208 per family. Earnings per worker, including all age groups, amounted to \$779, and the head of the household averaged \$1,145. The average household surveyed had 6.5 members, while the average number of migrating workers per household during the migration period was only 3 workers. Approximately half of all migratory farm workers were less than 24 years old.

The usual pattern of movement was to leave Texas in May and return in November. Male heads of households averaged 174 days of work. Poor employment opportunities tended to characterize the home-base cities, as less than half (45%) of the people who worked on the road did any work at the home base. In addition, unemployment at the home base was partially due to the lack of desire to seek employment, since it was the custom to relax when the migrant work season was over even though not enough was earned from the summer's work to last any length of time.

Thirty-one crew leaders were surveyed to determine the characteristics of the crew leader systems, methods of recruitment, turnover of employees, arrangements for work, major work areas, time lost, and types of contracts.

There is need to use caution in reading this report as some of the statements are based on limited data that are not supported. The findings generally are based on a rather small sample, and conclusions drawn as to wages, earnings, and days worked are in certain instances questionable. There is no evidence of the degree of precision for results reported relative to sample size. In addition, there is no explanation of the sampling technique used in the study. An example of unsupported statements is the caption under the photograph on page 28 which states that "competition from machines and imported labor is reducing the number of domestic workers in this area", the area being the Arkansas delta. Machines are displacing domestic and imported workers, and there is evidence to support this statement. The statement that imported labor is the reason for the reduction in the number of domestic workers is an opinion not supported by the findings of this survey. There are many more plausible reasons for the decline of the domestic agricultural work force. The reviewer's research in New Mexico shows nonagricultural job opportunities as a major reason for the decline in the domestic farm labor force.

The authors do point out a few areas in which caution must be used in interpreting the findings. Under the circumstances, it is felt that the authors could have devoted a section to the summarization of the limitations of the study. One error of rather wide commitment is the reporting of average earnings per worker for migrants. It is a mistake to use averages as measures of earnings per worker or length of employment per worker for migrants when children do make up a part of the migrant group. It is of interest to note that approximately 40 per cent of the heads of households were immigrants from Mexico. This in part explains the reason why these workers are not in more skilled, higher-paying jobs.

Migrant farm labor is a subject of widespread public discussion and political concern at this time. This study is a major contribution to an area

in which there is need for much more information. It is so detailed and broad that it is subject to varying interpretations.

GEORGE R. DAWSON

*Department of Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Business  
New Mexico State University*

Olson, Philip G. *Job Mobility and Migration in a High Income Rural Community*. Purdue Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. 708; Lafayette, Nov., 1960. 24 pp.

Research reported in this bulletin provides a much needed comprehensive look at mobility phenomena. In contrast to the usual focus on a particular type of mobility, this study analyzes job mobility, migration, combined job mobility and migration, and social mobility in a single package.

An explicit conceptual scheme is provided which explains mobility in terms of a motives-impediments model. Factors included as motives for job mobility or migration are the desire for economic betterment, the desire for social betterment and, finally, a combination of these factors. Factors considered as impediments to job mobility are job skills and required capital investment. Community attachment, as measured by social participation and attitudes toward community and kinship ties, is considered to be the major impediment to migration. A number of hypotheses are derived from this model and tested. In general, the results of the analysis support the theoretical formulations.

This bulletin is recommended reading from the standpoint of both content and implications for future research. The study indicates a need for further research to develop the motives-impediments model through the identification and measurement of additional motives or impediments.

EMMIT F. SHARP

*Department of Rural Sociology  
Cornell University*

Rahim, S. A. *Diffusion and Adoption of Agricultural Practices: A Study in a Village in East Pakistan*. Pakistan Academy for Village Development Tech. Pub. 7; Comilla, Pakistan, 1961. 66 pp.

One of several recent studies of the Pakistan Academy for Village Development in East Pakistan, this study is based upon interviews with 63 land owners in an agricultural village. The adoption of four newly introduced practices and the patterns of informal communication among the villagers provide an interesting comparison to studies on the diffusion of ideas and adoption of practices in the United States.

The four practices studied include: line sowing of rice (a part of the Japanese method of rice cultivation), use of insecticides, use of chemical fertilizer, and growing wheat. Cumulative rates of awareness and adoption of the first three practices disclose the usual S-shaped curves. Factors influencing the choice of persons sought for information about agricultural matters



are analyzed. This study of communication patterns indicates that the villagers are influenced more by the better farmers and by friends than by relatives. Contrary to the author's conclusions, however, data presented on the "lineage" groups of persons selected for agricultural information suggest that kinship does influence leadership in agricultural matters. For example, two of the five lineage groups received fewer than the expected choices while one group received more than the expected number of choices with respect to information on agricultural matters.

Despite the difference in the sources of information available to the Pakistan village farmers, it is interesting to note the comparability of findings with studies in the United States. Impersonal sources of information were much more important in the "awareness" stage, informal personal sources were most important in the "information" stage, while formal personal sources (agency personnel) were most important in the "trial" stage. This pattern holds for three practices: line sowing of rice, use of insecticides, and use of chemical fertilizer. The only deviation from American studies is that informal personal sources are more important in the "information" stage in the Pakistan village, while certain studies in the United States show that agricultural agencies or mass media are most important in this stage.

The study is well designed and makes effective use of limited resources and techniques for this type of research. Tabular presentation might have been improved. For example, in Table 1 neither columns nor rows are based upon an exclusive classification, so it is difficult to make percentage comparisons within the table. The reviewer would also like to have seen more analysis of reasons for the lack of confidence in agricultural workers which is hinted at in the introduction. Such an analysis might be very helpful to future agricultural workers. Nevertheless, this report makes a worthwhile contribution to the literature on diffusion of practice adoption and is recommended to all those interested in this area.

E. A. WILKENING

*Department of Rural Sociology*  
*University of Wisconsin*

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- Abell, Helen C. *Special Study of Ontario Farm Homes and Homemakers. Selected Aspects of Health and Health Education.* Ontario Dept. of Agr. and Canada Dept. of Agr. Prog. Rpt. 5; Toronto, Can. Jan., 1961. 29 pp.
- Crecink, John C., and Herbert Hoover. *Incomes and Resources of Rural Families in the Clay-Hills Area of Mississippi.* Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 604, in co-operation with Agr. Res. Serv., USDA; State College, Sept., 1960. 16 pp.
- Crecink, John C., and Herbert Hoover. *Statistical Supplement, Low Income Farm Study, Clay-Hills Area of Mississippi.* Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. AEC. M.R. 30, in co-operation with Agr. Res. Serv., USDA; State College, Jan., 1961. 95 pp.
- Davis, Elizabeth Gould. *The Economics of Farm Mechanization in the United States, 1950-1960.* USDA Library List 68; Washington, Oct., 1960. 16 pp.

- Douma, W. H. *De Leesbaarheid van Landbouwbladen*. (Readability of Dutch Farm Papers.) A Summary in English. Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool Bull. 17; Wageningen, Neth., 1960. 54 pp.
- Halter, A. N. *Kentucky Farmers' Needs and Sources of Information*. Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Prog. Rpt. 93; Lexington, Nov., 1960. 15 pp.
- Health Information Foundation. *An Inventory of Social and Economic Research in Health*, 1960. 9th ed., New York: The Foundation, 1960. 405 pp.
- Hofstee, E. W. *Fundamenteel Sociologisch Speurwerk in Het Kader Van Het Landbouwwetenschappelijke Onderzoek*. Afdeling Sociologie en Sociografie van de Landbouwhogeschool Bull. 18; Wageningen, Neth., 1960. 26 pp.
- Hofstee, E. W., R. A. J. van Lier, and A. J. Wichers. *Groepsbenadering in de Voorlichting. Voordrachten Gehouden in de Sectie Voorlichting op de Tuinbouwdagen 1960*. Afdeling Voorlichtingsmiddelen en Publikaties, Directie Tuinbouw van het Ministerie van Landbouw en Visserij; The Hague, Neth., 1960. 38 pp.
- Korzan, Gerald E., and Howard C. Hogg. *Farm Cooperatives Can Merge... An Oregon Study*. Oregon Agr. Exp. Sta. Circ. Inform. 603; Corvallis, Sept., 1960. 12 pp.
- LeRay, Nelson L., George L. Wilber, and Grady B. Crowe. *Plantation Organization and the Resident Labor Force, Delta Area of Mississippi*. Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 606, in co-operation with Agr. Res. Serv. USDA; State College, Oct., 1960. 24 pp.
- Macoupin County Health Improvement Association. *What's the Health Situation in Macoupin County, Illinois? A Community Self-Study*. Carlinville, Ill., 1960. 100 pp.
- Maitland, Sheridan T., Robert R. Stansberry, Jr., and Reed E. Friend. *The Hired Farm Working Force of 1959*. USDA Agr. Inf. Bull. 238; Economic Res. Serv., Washington, April, 1961. 53 pp.
- Manny, Elsie S., William G. Yanniello, and Helen L. Johnston. *Rural Health. Selected Annotated References, January 1953-June 1960*. USDA Misc. Pub. 860; Washington, May, 1961. 39 pp.
- Maynard, Cecil D., D. B. Jeffrey, and Glenn L. Laughlin. *Farm Partnerships and Father-Son Agreements*. Oklahoma State Univ. Ext. Serv. Cir. E-710; Stillwater, 1960. 37 pp.
- Moore, H. R., and W. A. Wayt. *Policies and Standards in Rural Zoning*. Ohio Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Circ. 89; Wooster, Sept., 1960. 44 pp.
- Pedersen, Harald A. *Montana's Human Resources. Number and Distribution of People*. Montana Agr. Exp. Sta. Circ. 231; Bozeman, Sept., 1960. 8 pp.
- Peeters, Gérard. *Essai sur l'Economie de l'Elevage du Bovidé au Congo*. Publications Universitaires, Université Lovanium B.P. 169, Leopoldville XI, Congo, 1960. 27 pp.
- Schellekens, J. W., and A. J. Wichers. *De Vormgeving Van Voorlichtingsdrukkerwerk*. Afdeling Sociologie En Sociografie Van De Landbouwhogeschool Bull. 19; Wageningen, 1960. 24 pp.

- Schwarzweiler, Harry K. *Sociocultural Factors and the Career Aspirations and Plans of Rural Kentucky High School Seniors*. Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Prog. Rpt. 94; Lexington, Sept., 1960. 39 pp.
- Sizer, Leonard M., and Ward F. Porter. *The Relation of Knowledge to Adoption of Recommended Practices*. West Virginia Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 446, in co-operation with Federal Ext. Serv.; Morgantown, Sept., 1960. 12 pp.
- Strohbehn, Roger W., and John F. Timmons. *Ownership of Iowa's Farmland*. Iowa Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. 489; Ames, Dec., 1960. 36 pp.
- Tarver, James D. *Estimates and Projections of Oklahoma's Population, by State Economic Areas and Age- Race- Residence- Sex-Groups, 1950 to 1970*. Oklahoma State Univ. Social Studies Ser. 5, Stillwater, 1960. 126 pp.
- Taves, Marvin, William Hathaway, and Gordon Bultena. *Canoe Country Vacationers*. Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Misc. Rpt. 39; St. Paul, June, 1960. 28 pp.

Edited by MARION T. LOFTIN

## News Notes

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

#### *Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont*

The Ford Foundation has announced a two-year, \$37,000 grant to complete the Goddard College—based Vermont Youth Study. The grant brings Ford Foundation aid to the study to a total \$56,530.

Since September, 1959, the youth study staff has been conducting research on behavior problems and potentialities for constructive behavior of rural and small-town youth in the state. The project, which is directed by Dr. Jerome Himelhoch of the Goddard College Department of Sociology, is expected to be completed late in 1962.

Dr. Himelhoch said the study is being conducted by a team of professional research workers and advanced sociology and social psychology students at Goddard. The team is working closely with Vermont state agencies including the departments or divisions of education, institutions, mental health, probation and parole, public safety, social welfare, and recreation.

Findings of the study are expected to be used in developing more effective youth programs in rural and small-town Vermont communities.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

World Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Abstracts is now completing its second year of publication.

This is the only publication covering world literature in agricultural economics and rural sociology. It includes not only the bibliographical details, but also information on contents of publications, since in most cases short summaries outline the essential features of the study or the main results of the investigation. The journal provides rapid and complete information on the more important recent publications. The subjects covered are agricultural economics in its broadest sense including agricultural policy, land reform, farm management, farm labor, farm accounting, agricultural marketing, credit, and co-operation, as well as closely related subjects such as rural sociology, agricultural legislation, education, geography, and history.

WAERSA is published quarterly by the International Association of Agricultural Librarians and Documentalists in co-operation with the International Conference of Agricultural Economists. Editorial correspondence should be addressed to the Editor: Dr. Sigmund V. Frauendorfer, Agrarwirtschaftliches

Institut de Bundesministeriums fur Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Vienna XIII., Schweizerthalstr. 56, Austria. Subscriptions should be sent to the North Holland Publishing Company, 68-70, N.Z., Voorburgwal, Amsterdam, Holland.

### LAWRENCE MILTON HEPPLER (1910-1960)

LAWRENCE MILTON HEPPLER, professor of sociology of religion at Methodist National Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri, and formerly associate professor of rural sociology at the University of Missouri, died of a heart attack on Tuesday, November 22, 1960, at his home in Overland Park, Kansas. He was born and raised in Missouri and attended high school at Moberly. He received an A.B. degree from Central College in 1932, and an M.A. in 1940 and a Ph.D. in 1946 from the University of Missouri. He was a member of the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Church and served as technical consultant for the Department of Research and Survey of the Board of National Missions of the Methodist Church.

Dr. Hepple's teaching career began in 1942, when he served as instructor in sociology at the University of Missouri. Then he became assistant professor of sociology in 1945, assistant professor of rural sociology in 1947, and associate professor of rural sociology in 1950, at the University of Missouri. In July, 1960, he accepted the position of professor of sociology of religion at the new Methodist National Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri.

He was a member of many committees and associations of local and statewide significance. Among these were the Boone County Mental Health Association, of which he was president, and he was a part of the task force created by the state of Missouri in preparation for the White House Conference on the Aging. He chaired the section on Religion and the Aged.

Professionally, he was a member of the American Sociological Society, the Rural Sociological Society, the Mid-West Sociological Society, and Alpha Kappa Delta fraternity.

He was the author of the book, *Group Organization and Leadership in Rural Life*, and of the series of eight research bulletins on *The Church in Rural Missouri, Midway in 20th Century*, published by the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Missouri. These bulletins were the result of a study which he directed, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. Through it, he achieved a national reputation. Moreover, he has contributed numerous papers and reviews to professional journals.

Dr. Lively, chairman of the Rural Sociology Department, University of Missouri, voiced these sentiments: "Lawrence was at the zenith of his powers, reveling in the glory of achievement. His passing brings to mind the famous words of the poet, who said:

Give me high noon—and let it then be night!  
Let me be a tune-swept fiddle string  
That feels the master melody—and snaps!"

H. ELLIS PLYLER

Columbia, Missouri

---

INDEX  
To The  
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Revised 1960 Edition—Official Journal

Volumes 1-25

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

A Standard Reference Work—

Lists And Classifies All Articles And Book Reviews For The  
Entire Twenty-Five Volumes According to *Author—Subject  
Matter*

Enlarged Edition 312 pp

Price \$4.75

*Special price to Association members \$3.00*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

New York University

Washington Square

New York 3

New York

---



---

## HUMAN ORGANIZATION

Quarterly Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology

*Social Science applied to practical problems*

Vol. 20

SUMMER 1961

No. 2

Human Relations at the Management Level in a Bureaucratic  
System of Organization .....*Michel Crozier*

Ethnic Origin, Educational Level and Responses to a Health  
Questionnaire .....*Sydney H. Croog*

The Social Itinerary of Technical Change:  
Two Studies of the Diffusion of Innovation .....*Elihu Katz*

The Japanese Schools for the Natives of Truk, Caroline Islands  
*J. L. Fischer*

Consensus and Coalition in the Release of Mental Patients:  
A Research Note .....*Ozzie G. Simmons and Howard E. Freeman*

Agents, Timing and Events Leading to Mental Hospitalization  
*Erwin L. Linn*

HUMAN ORGANIZATION is available through membership in the Society  
for Applied Anthropology, New York School of Industrial and Labor  
Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Active Membership.....\$8.00

Student Membership.....\$4.00

Subscribing Membership.....\$8.00

Monograph Series free to members.

---

*Nathan L. Whetten*

**GUATEMALA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE**

Still essentially a rural civilization, Guatemala can best be understood through a study of the villages and farming districts. This pioneer work provides a comprehensive rural sociology of Guatemala as an economically underdeveloped country and evaluates the results to date of the social revolution of 1944.

Nathan L. Whetten, author of *Rural Mexico*, describes the composition of Guatemala's population, dividing it into two broad ethnic groups—Indian and Ladino—and analyzes its growth and distribution in relation to the geographical environment. He discusses the efforts of the people to make a living; methods of farming, the standards and levels of living, including housing, diet, clothing, and health practices; as well as the major social institutions, such as the family, education, religion, and government.

\$6.00

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
*Canadian orders*

NEW HAVEN AND LONDON  
*McGill University Press, Montreal 2*

## JOURNAL OF FARM ECONOMICS

Published by *The American Farm Economic Association*

Editor: Herman M. Southworth

*The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania*

Volume XLIII

May, 1961

Number 2

Acceptance and Yield of Choice and Good Beef: Research Results and

Implications . . . . . *V. James Rhodes*  
Projections of Water Requirements in the Economics of Water Policy

. . . . . *S. V. Giriacy-Wantrup*

The Economics of Cooperative Ventures—Further Comments. . . *Raphael Trifon*

The Farm: The Misused Income Expansion Base of Emerging Nations

. . . . . *Richard W. Lindholm*

Age Components of Decrease in Number of Farmers, North Central States,

1890-1954 . . . . . *Don Kanel*

Cost-Size Relationships for Cash Crop Farms in a Highly Commercialized

Agriculture . . . . . *H. O. Carter and G. W. Dean*

*Proceedings Papers, Joint Meetings of the American Farm Economic Association  
and Allied Social Science Associations, St. Louis, December 1960.*

Additional articles, notes, book reviews, and announcements of new  
bulletins and other publications in agricultural economics

Published in February, May, August, November, and December.

\$9 yearly.

Secretary-Treasurer: C. Del Mar Kearl  
Department of Agricultural Economics  
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

# REVUE FRANÇAISE DE SOCIOLOGIE

---

publiée par les soins du  
CENTRE D'ETUDES SOCIOLOGIQUES  
avec le concours du  
CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE  
Directeur : J. STOETZEL

Vol. II, n°2. avril-juin 1961

NUMERO SPECIAL

---

GUERRE ARMEE SOCIETE

---

Résumés des articles en Anglais, Allemand, Espagnol, Russe

Direction, Rédaction:  
CENTRE D'ETUDES  
SOCIOLOGIQUES  
82, rue Cardinet  
PARIS (17°)

Administration, abonnements:  
JULLIARD  
30-34, rue de l'Université  
PARIS (7°)

4 numéros de 128 pages par an

ABONNEMENT: FRANCE .... 18 Nouveaux Francs (le numéro : 5, 10 NF)  
ETRANGER .. 22 Nouveaux Francs  
U.S.A. .... \$4.50

Ce numéro spécial de 160 p ... 6, 60 NF

# THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS FOR 1960-1961

*President*, M. E. John .....Pennsylvania State University  
UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

*Vice-President*, Eugene A. Wilkening .....University of Wisconsin  
MADISON, WISCONSIN

*Secretary-Treasurer*, James H. Copp .....Pennsylvania State University  
UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

### *Other Executive Committee Members:*

Harold F. Kaufman (*President-Elect*) .....Mississippi State University  
STATE COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

Charles R. Hoffer .....Michigan State University  
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

Paul J. Jehlik .....United States Department of Agriculture  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

## STANDING COMMITTEES

### *Committee on Teaching:*

John C. Belcher (*Chairman*) .....University of Georgia  
ATHENS, GEORGIA

### *Committee on Research:*

Ward W. Bauder (*Chairman*)  
United States Department of Agriculture and Iowa State University  
AMES, IOWA

### *Committee on Extension:*

Frank D. Alexander (*Chairman*) .....Cornell University  
ITHACA, NEW YORK

### *Official Representative in the American Sociological Association:*

Irwin T. Sanders .....Boston University  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

The object of the Rural Sociological Society is to promote the development of rural sociology through research, teaching, and extension work.

Membership is open to any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of the Society, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee and the payment of annual membership fee of \$7.50. The student membership and emeritus fee is \$4.00 annually. Each member receives *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, the official journal of the Society, at no additional expense. Send membership fees to:

### THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

James H. Copp, *Secretary-Treasurer*  
206 Weaver  
Pennsylvania State University  
University Park, Pennsylvania





